NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

HISTORY

JESSE JAMES
RISE OF AN AMERICAN OUTLAW

EGYPTIAN JUSTICE
CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN THE NEW KINGDOM

KILLING CICERO
DEATH OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

PRINCE OF THIEVES
HUNTING DOWN THE REAL ROBIN HOOD

PLUS:

Birth of the Big Screen
The Cinématographe

JANUARY/FEBRUARY 2019

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In 1787 Thomas Jefferson wrote to James Madison, "I hold it that a little rebellion now and then is a good thing." The two men were fresh off a successful rebellion, one that gave independence to North American colonists. Rebellions have been a key part of the United States' story from the beginning, but not all rebellions and rebels are created equal.

One rebel, Jesse James, has been mythologized as an American Robin Hood, stealing from the Northern rich to give to the Southern poor. The violence of the Civil War turned James against the United States; after the Confederacy lost, James and his comrades attacked the institutions of the victorious Union: They held up banks, robbed trains, and murdered Americans who stood in their way.

But the "noble outlaw" myth does not stand up to scrutiny. James's "rebellion" was not generous: Fueled by greed and a lust for revenge, James stole from the rich and gave to himself. James was driven by self-interest, what Jefferson called "the sole antagonist of virtue." Woven into the fabric of American identity, a little rebellion can be good, but when fueled by ego, it's dangerous, shortsighted, and destructive.

Amy Briggs

Amy Briggs, Executive Editor

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EDITORIAL DIRECTOR, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS SUSAN GOLDBERG
CHIEF FINANCIAL OFFICER, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS MARCELA MARTIN
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EVP, BUSINESS AND LEGAL AFFAIRS, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS JEFF SCHNEIDER
EVP, MEDIA GROUP, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS DAVID E. MILLER

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Robin Hood and his band of Merry Men gather in the sheltering groves of Sherwood Forest in this 1859 painting by Edmund George Warren.

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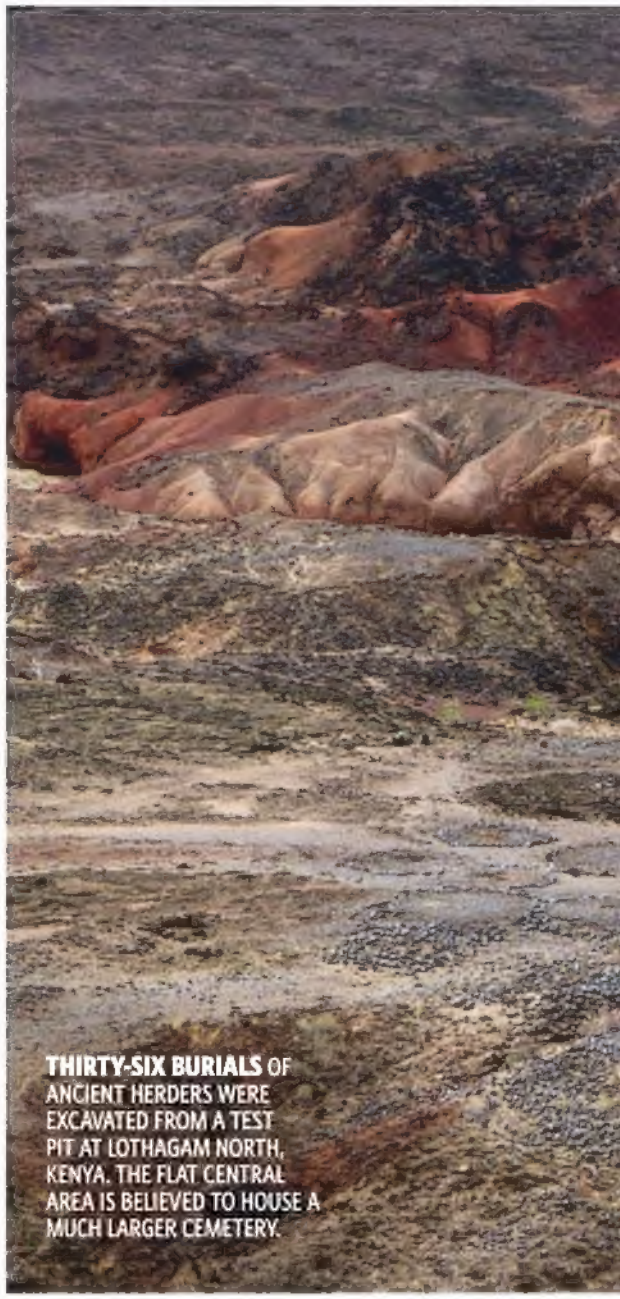
BEADS AND JEWELRY MADE FROM VIBRANTLY COLORED STONES WERE FOUND IN THE ANCIENT CEMETERY OF LOTHAGAM NORTH IN NORTHERN KENYA.

CARLA KLEHM/PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES (PNAS)



THIRTY-SIX BURIALS OF ANCIENT HERDERS WERE EXCAVATED FROM A TEST PIT AT LOTHAGAM NORTH, KENYA. THE FLAT CENTRAL AREA IS BELIEVED TO HOUSE A MUCH LARGER CEMETERY.

NG MAPS

LOTHAGAM NORTH is the largest of several ancient herder sites located near Lake Turkana, Kenya. Known as "pillar sites," they are distinguished by small monolithic structures built more than 4,000 years ago.

ANCIENT BURIALS IN AFRICA

Kenya's Monumental City of the Dead

The first glimpse of an ancient culture surprised archaeologists with a rich trove of carefully crafted artifacts found in a necropolis near Lake Turkana.

An international team of researchers has opened a landmark exploration of the Lothagam North Pillar Site near Lake Turkana in Kenya. Based on their initial research published in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (PNAS), their findings suggest that this mysterious complex of rings of boulders, small stone pillars, and cairns functioned as both a cemetery—the earliest monumental site in East Africa—and a landmark for African herders between 4,000 and 5,000 years ago.

Partly funded by a National Geographic grant, the team excavated a small section (just 43 square feet of a 7,500-square-foot site) and uncovered 36 sets of human remains. The dig site concentrated on the circular esplanade ringed with boulders, but as many as 500 more burials may lie within the necropolis. Remains of men, women, children, and the

KATHERINE GRILLO/PNAS

THIS UNIQUE HEADDRESS FOUND AMONG THE BURIALS IS ADORNED WITH 405 GERBIL TEETH.

PNAS

LEGACY AT THE LAKE

FIVE THOUSAND YEARS may seem like a long time ago. The 5,000-year-old Lothagam North necropolis certainly seems ancient, but the region around Lake Turkana (the world's largest, permanent desert lake) has been home to communities that extend back to the dawn of humanity itself. In 1994 National Geographic explorer-in-residence Maeve Leakey unearthed a fossil of a hominid *(Australopithecus anamensis)* who lived around 4.2 to 3.9 million years ago. Study of the fossil found the creature had walked on two feet, and that hominids had developed bipedalism earlier than previously thought. Near the lake in 1984, Kenyan paleontologist Kamoya Kimeu found a fossil of *Homo erectus* who lived 1.5 to 1.6 million years ago. Believed to be a boy about eight or nine years old, the fossil was nicknamed Turkana Boy. It is the most complete hominid skeleton found to date.

TURKANA BOY'S SKULL HELPED ANTHROPOLOGISTS DETERMINE HIS AGE AT THE TIME OF DEATH.

BRENT STIRTON/GETTY IMAGES

LAKE TURKANA, KENYA. IN THE FOREGROUND IS THE NABIYOTUM CRATER.

RICHARD DU TOIT/AGE FOTOSTOCK

elderly were among this small sample; evidence suggests that generation after generation of herders returned to this place to bury their dead over hundreds of years.

The team also found a cache of remarkable artifacts at the site, including pieces of pottery, bracelets made of hippo tusks, and intricately carved colored stones. Researchers were intrigued to find an ornate headpiece decorated with 405 gerbil incisors. The grave goods were evenly distributed among the bodies, with no sign of social hierarchy. Most monumental ancient burial sites were reserved for the elite, which would make Lothagam unusual. Future explorations of the larger site will need to delve into the implications of these initial finds.

Winds of Change

Analysis suggests that the mound may have been built some 5,000 years ago, when Lake Turkana was much larger and rainfall abundant. In the coming centuries, the climate changed, and the lake began to recede. As the landscape transformed around the community, herding replaced fishing as a source of food. To the local peoples, the communal cemetery at Lothagam North would have stood as a beacon of continuity in a changing world. ■

The Lumières: Sires of the Cinema

Brothers Louis and Auguste Lumière created the world's first motion picture in 1895 with their revolutionary camera. The Cinématographe lent its name to a new form of art and entertainment that would forever change modern culture.

Bright Lights of the Big Screen

1870

Antoine Lumière arrives in Lyon with his family. He opens a photographic studio, where two of his sons, Louis and Auguste, will one day work.

1881

Louis's new, improved dry plates are a runaway success. Lumière will soon be Europe's biggest photography brand.

1895

The Lumière brothers patent the Lumière Cinématographe and hold the first ever public film screening at the Grand Café in Paris.

1903

The Lumières patent plates to produce color photographs, which they call autochromes. The plates go on the market in 1907.

Auguste and Louis Lumière invented a camera that could record, develop, and project film, but they regarded their creation as little more than a curious novelty. Shortly after the public premiere of their film, Louis was said to have remarked: "*Le cinéma est une invention sans avenir*—Cinema is an invention without a future."

This prediction was the Lumières only scientific miscalculation, for this sibling pair created an unprecedented form of art and entertainment that radically influenced popular culture. Their Cinématographe introduced a crucial innovation: By projecting moving images onto a large screen, it created a new, shared experience of cinema. The first movie audience was born.

A Family Tradition

In 1870, as France reeled from invasion in the Franco-Prussian war, Antoine Lumière moved his family from the hazardous eastern border of the country to the city of Lyon. A portrait painter and award-winning photographer, he opened a small business in photographic plates in his new home.

Two of Antoine's sons, Auguste and Louis, grew up immersed in and fascinated by their father's trade. In 1881, the 17-year-old Louis began taking a particular interest in the photographic plates that their father manufactured.

Chemists had already introduced a new type of "dry" photographic plate that was coated with a chemical emulsion. Unlike previous "wet" photographic plates, these did not need to be developed immediately, freeing the photographer to travel farther from his darkroom. Louis improved upon the dry plate technology, and his success with what became known as the "blue plate" prompted the opening of a new factory on the outskirts of Lyon. By the mid-1890s the Lumière family was running Europe's largest photographic factory.

Pioneers in Motion

In 1894 Antoine attended a Paris exhibition of Thomas Edison and William Dickson's Kinetoscope, a film-viewing device often referred to as the first movie projector. However, the Kinetoscope could show a motion picture to only one person at a time. The individual viewer had to watch through a peephole; Antoine wondered if it were possible to develop a device that could project film onto a screen for an audience. When he

The Cinématographe could project its images onto a screen, creating a new, shared experience—cinema.

CINÉMATOGRAPHE PATENTED BY THE LUMIÈRE BROTHERS IN 1895

SSPL/GETTY IMAGES

DOUBLE FEATURE

THE TWO ELDEST sons of Antoine Lumière—Auguste (born in 1862) and Louis (born in 1864)—shared a deep interest in science. Brotherly solidarity even extended to marriage: The men's wives were sisters. Louis was the driving force behind both the improved dry plate and the Cinématographe. After both men developed the color autochrome in 1907, their interests began to diverge. Louis continued his work in photography while Auguste increasingly focused his time on medical studies, researching and publishing extensively on asthma, tuberculosis, and renal conditions. Auguste died in 1954, six years after the death of Louis.

AUGUSTE (LEFT) AND LOUIS LUMIÈRE IN A PHOTOGRAPH BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN THE LATE 1890S, AND LATER COLORIZED

AKG/ALBUM

returned home from Paris, Antoine encouraged his sons to begin working on a new invention.

One year later, the brothers had succeeded, and the Lumière Cinématographe was patented. With its perforated, 35-mm-wide film that passed through a shutter at 16 frames per second, the hand-cranked Cinématographe established modern standard film specifications. Similar to the mechanics of a sewing machine, the Cinématographe threads the film intermittently and more slowly than the Kinetoscope's 46 frames per second, creating a quieter machine and one that made the images appear to move more fluidly on screen. In addition to expanding Edison's one-person peephole view to an audience, the Cinématographe was also lighter and portable. The bulk of the Kinetoscope meant that films could only be shot in a studio, but the Lumières' invention offered operators the freedom and spontaneity to record candid footage beyond a studio's walls.

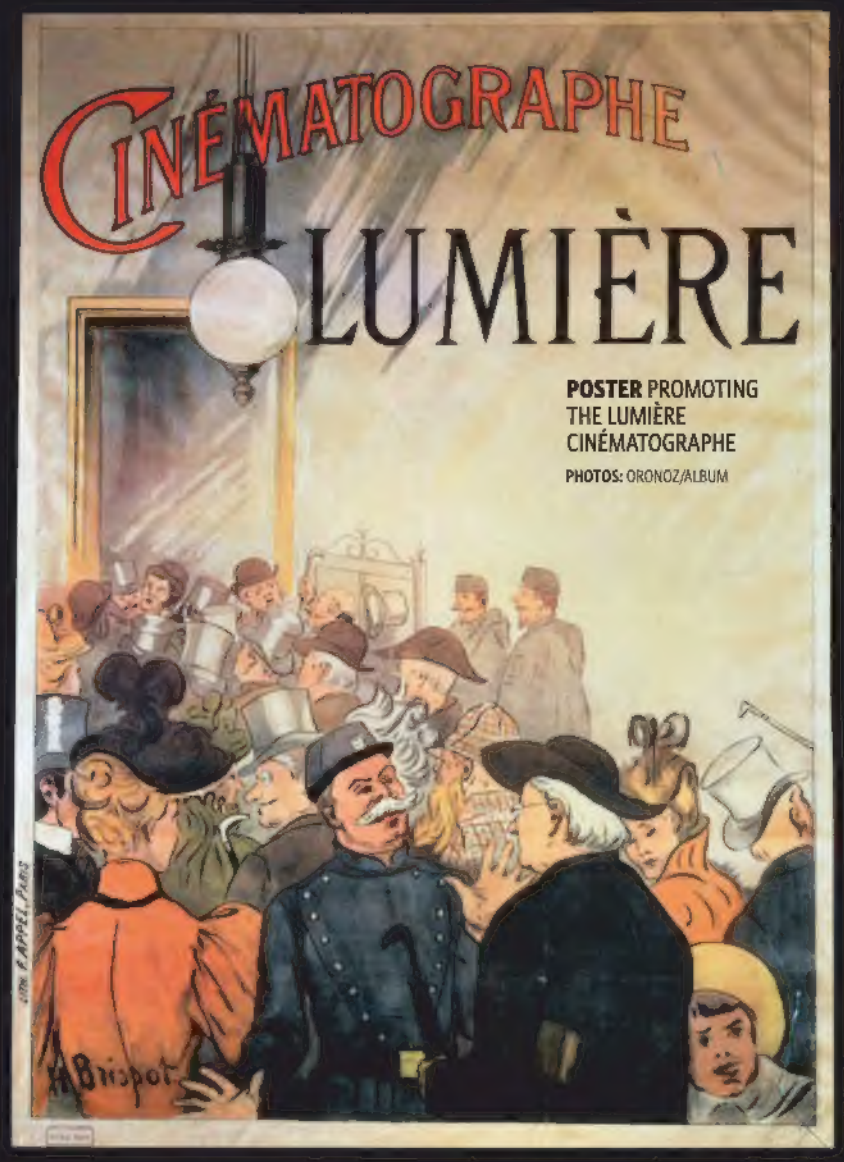
The Bigger Picture

The Lumières held the world's first public movie screening on December 28, 1895, at the Grand Café in Paris. Their directorial debut was *La sortie des ouvriers de l'usine Lumière (Workers Leaving the Lumière Factory)*. While today this premiere would be considered rather prosaic viewing—as its title suggests, the movie simply showed workers leaving the Lumière factory—the clarity and realism of the black-and-white, 50-second film created a sensation.

COME ONE, COME ALL

THE LUMIÈRES not only invented the very first night at the movies, they also pioneered the use of the movie poster. In the Paris of the belle epoque, posters were the best form of advertisement. After their initial screening in December 1895, the Lumières contracted lithographer Henri Brispot to create a poster (right) to promote future demonstrations of the Lumière Cinématographe. The first screening had only attracted 30 people, but after word spread of the incredible experience, thousands wanted to see the moving pictures in early January 1896.

◀ **STILLS** FROM THE 1895 FILM *WORKERS LEAVING THE LUMIÈRE FACTORY*, THE WORLD'S FIRST PUBLICLY SCREENED MOTION PICTURE



POSTER PROMOTING THE LUMIÈRE CINÉMATOGRAPHE

PHOTOS: ORONOZ/ALBUM

Describing the street-life scenes that appeared on the screen before him, Georges Méliès, the renowned magician and director of the Théâtre Robert-Houdin in Paris, remarked, "We stared flabbergasted at this sight, stupefied and surprised beyond all expression. At the end of the show there was complete chaos. Everyone wondered how such a result was obtained." Legend has it that when audiences viewed the Lumières' film *The Arrival of a Train at La Ciotat Station* in 1896, the sight of the approaching train sent viewers running away in terror. In such lore lives truth, however, and the legend echoes Méliès's reaction: A moving picture was a shock to the senses, revolutionary to behold.

A Legacy of Light

In 1896 the Lumières opened Cinématographe theaters in London, England; Brussels, Belgium; and New York City, showing the more than 40 films that they had shot of everyday French life: a child looking at a goldfish bowl, a baby being fed, a blacksmith at work, and soldiers marching. Footage of the French Photographic Society marked the first newsreel, and the Lyon Fire Department became the subject of the world's first documentary. Audiences were riveted, fascinated by seeing life's moments unfold on the big screen.

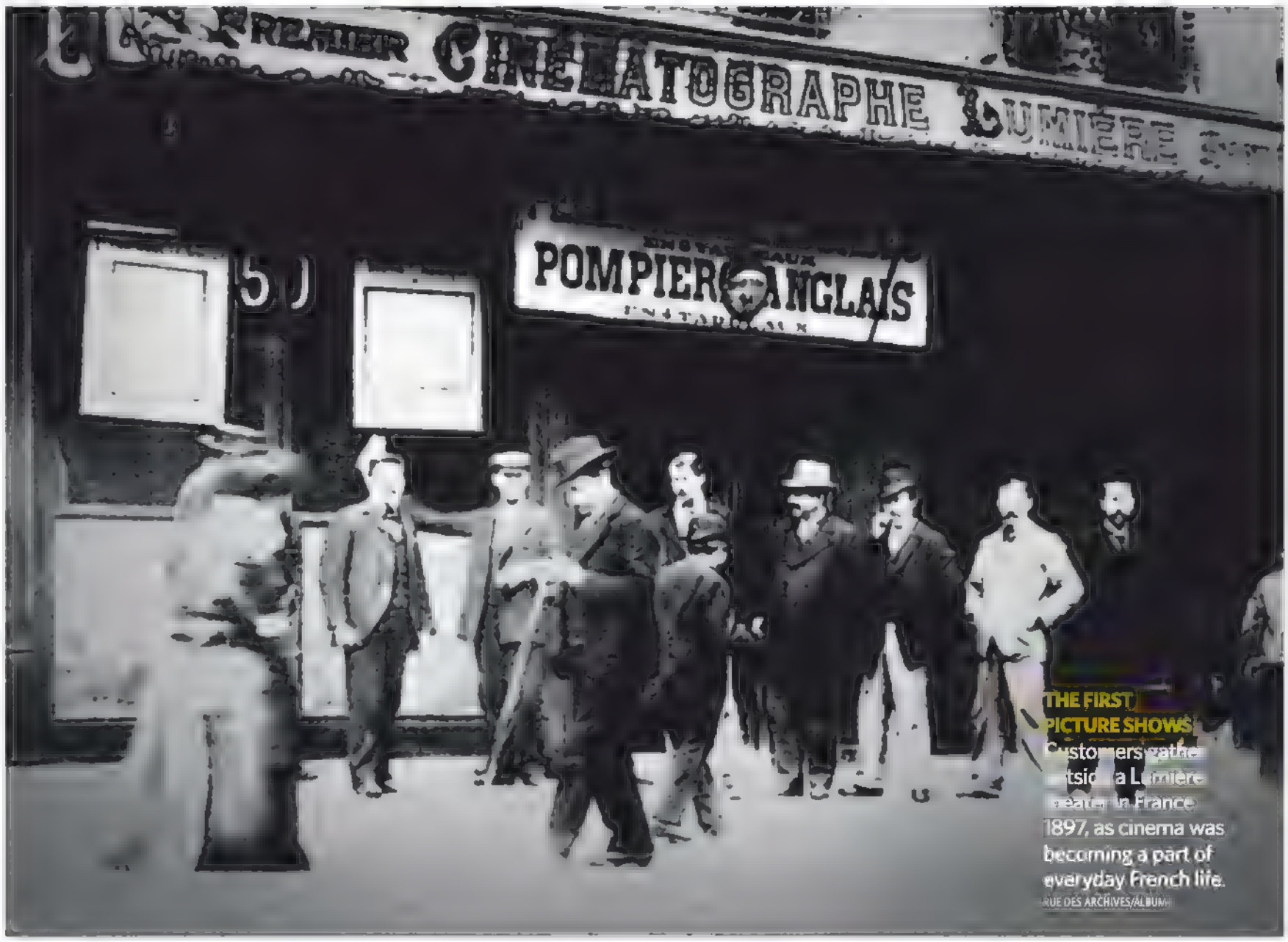
The day after the first public screening of the Lumières'

LA VIE EN ROSE

IN 1907, when the Lumière brothers launched the autochrome plate for taking color photographs, New York critic Alfred Stieglitz gave his verdict: "All are amazed by the . . . wonderful luminosity of the shadows, that bugbear of the photographer in monochrome; the endless range of grays, the richness of the deep colors. In short, soon the world will be color-mad and Lumière will be responsible."

PACKET OF LUMIÈRE AUTOCHROME PLATES

SSPL/GETTY IMAGES



THE FIRST PICTURE SHOWS Customers gather outside a Lumière theater in France in 1897, as cinema was becoming a part of everyday French life.
RUE DES ARCHIVES/ALBUM

film in 1895, a local gazette trumpeted, "We have already recorded and reproduced spoken words. We can now record and play back life. We will be able to see our families again long after they are gone." Indeed, the Lumières not only made history with their culture-changing camera and new photographic processes; they preserved it.

The Lumières trained camera operators to use the invention and then travel all over the world. They showed the Lumières' films to new audiences and also recorded their own footage of local events in the places they visited. Gabriel Veyre set out for Central America, the veteran soldier Félix Mesguich filmed in North Africa, and Charles Moisson headed for Russia, where he filmed the pomp and splendor of the crowning of the last tsar, Nicholas II, in 1896. Between 1895 and 1905, the Lumières would make more than 1,400 films, many of which have been preserved to this day.

The Quest for Color

As the cinema grew popular, the brothers began to turn their attention to new projects. They focused their ever present curiosity on tackling another technical challenge: color photography.

Color photography did exist, but the process of creating it was complicated and time-consuming. The Lumière brothers' solution had a profound effect on the emerging field. Patented in 1903, their process, called Autochrome Lumière, involved covering a glass plate with a thin wash of tiny potato starch grains dyed red, green, and blue. This granular wash created a filter, and gave autochromes the soft, pointillistic quality of a painting. A thin layer of emulsion was added to the filter, and when the plate was flipped and exposed to light, the resulting image could be developed into a transparency.

The autochrome remained the most widely used photographic plate capable of capturing color for more than 30 years. Magazines like *National Geographic* sent its photographers to capture the world with autochromes, the relative portability of which made documentary fieldwork easier. The success of the brothers' invention is reflected in the archives of the National Geographic Society, which house almost 15,000 autochrome plates, one of the largest collections in the world.

This family of inventors lived up to their name—*lumière* means "light" in French—illuminating life as they archived the past, captured the unseen, and created filmmakers and audiences alike.

—Pedro García Martín

The Violin: From Fiddle to First Chair

Strummed, plucked, or bowed, violins have been making music for centuries, whether backyard bluegrass or classical concertos.

BRIDGEMAN/AC.

A *VIELLE,* AN ANCESTOR OF THE MODERN VIOLIN, APPEARS IN A 1330 FRESCO. MUSEUM OF NAVARRA, PAMPLONA

The violin is arguably the world's most popular instrument. Its expressive tones suit a variety of musical styles, from fast and furious to slow and sanguine. Becoming popular in the 16th century with both commoners and nobles, the violin has remained a democratic instrument, universal and versatile.

The development of the modern violin was gradual and complex, evolving from a variety of other stringed instruments. The pear-shaped lira, found in Europe as early as the ninth century, was played in an upright position and bowed. The influence of the two-stringed *rabab,* an Arabian fiddle introduced to western Europe in the 11th century, and the three-stringed rebec, which appeared in Spain between the 11th and 13th centuries, likely as a result of the Crusades, is also reflected in the modern violin. The French *vielle,* like the rebec, was usually supported on the chest or under the chin and was widely used by troubadours in the 13th to 15th centuries to accompany singing and dancing. Stringed instruments have a long history in folk music, but the violin became more standardized after it went to court.

Most historians agree that today's violin emerged in the early 16th century in northern Italy, an area which would maintain the violin-making tradition over the coming centuries. Maple and spruce, the two types of wood most favored by violin makers then and since, were readily available in the Lombardy region. The city of Brescia, located at the foot of the Alps, was the earliest to excel in the crafting of violins, but Cremona, home to the world's most famous luthiers, Giuseppe Guarneri, Antonio Stradivari, and the Amati family, became synonymous with the art of violin making.

MASTER VIOLIN MAKER ANTONIO STRADIVARI INSPECTS HIS CREATION IN AN ILLUSTRATION OF HIS CREMONA WORKSHOP.

GRANGER/ALBUM

Lombardy Luthiers

In February 1539 master craftsman Andrea Amati leased (and later bought) a house and workshop in Cremona that remained in his family's possession for 200 years and became one of the premier musical instrument workshops in Europe.

In the early 1560s, Catherine de Médicis, the French queen regent, commissioned Amati to make a variety of string instruments for the Royal Ensemble. How many Amati made and delivered remains unknown, but it is thought that the scale of work required ultimately established the basic form and construction of the modern violin. Amati's creation had a wooden sound box with two F-shaped apertures. Tuned to perfect fifths, four strings stretched along the instrument's neck, where they were tightened with pegs. Amati's workshop was a family venture, as he shared the secrets of his craft with his two sons, Girolamo and Antonio. The dynasty extended to a third generation with Girolamo's son,

CHARLES IX VIOLIN
Made by Andrea Amati for the French king Charles IX. Dated to 1564, this violin is considered to be one of the oldest surviving examples of a modern violin. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

BR DGEMAN/ACI

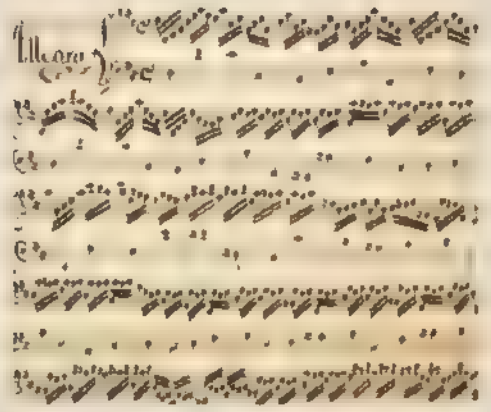
FIRST AMONG INSTRUMENTS

Circa 1510
Andrea Amati is born. His work will establish Cremona, Italy, as the center for violin making in Europe.

1523
Records from the Alpine region of Savoy notes payment for the services of "*trompettes*" and "*vyollons*."

Circa 1535
Gaudenzio Ferrari paints one of the first depictions of a violin in the Saronno Cathedral in Lombardy, Italy.

1644
Master violin maker Antonio Stradivari is born. His instruments will become treasures, valued for their acoustics.



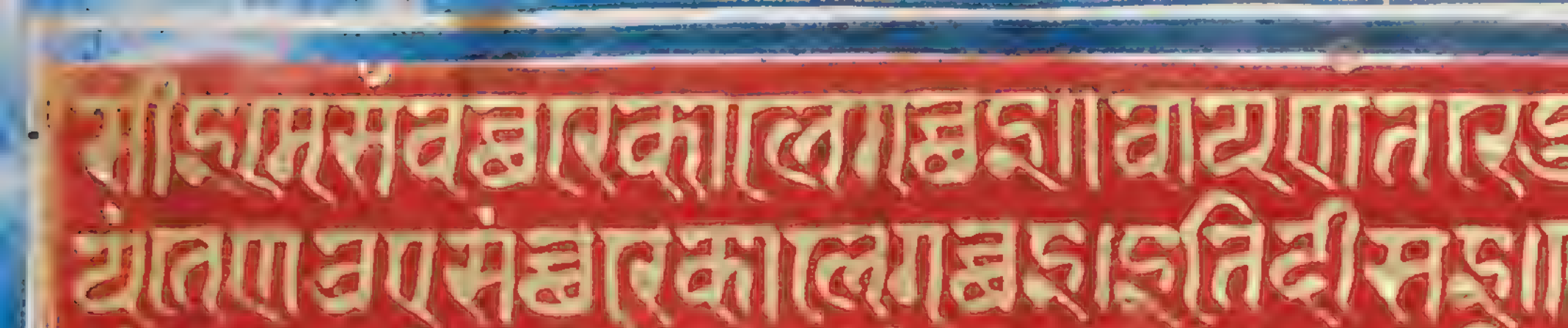
SONATA PRIMA FOR VIOLIN BY GIUSEPPE TARTINI
B BLIOTECA NAZIONALE MARCIANA, VENICE

BRIDGEMAN/AC

Nicolò, who became the maestro to two of the most celebrated violin makers: Andrea Guarneri and Antonio Stradivari.

The violin's sound continued to expand through the centuries, embraced by fiddlers and virtuosos alike. During the 17th century, the violin became an important instrument in the orchestra as composers like Claudio Monteverdi incorporated it into their compositions. Around 1786, François Tourte created the modern bow, standardizing its length and weight. The invention of the chin rest around 1820 made the instrument easier to hold and increased its range of play. The neck and fingerboard were both lengthened and tilted in the 19th century, allowing the violinist to play the highest notes, and the bass bar was made heavier to produce a bigger, more brilliant sound.

—Josemi Lorenzo



FINDING THE FIRST WORDS

The Roots of Indo-European Languages

ÓSCAR PUJOL

THE LIVING AND THE DEAD

Sanskrit, an Indo-European language, flows across this 15th-century Jain text. Many languages in this vast family share a common ancestor. Some—such as English—have evolved and thrive, while others, such as Hittite, the language on the royal seal (below), have vanished.

JAIN TEXT, [illegible] SEAL: [illegible]

One of the most popular stories in the Old Testament, the Tower of Babel takes place during a time when "the whole earth had one language and the same words" (Genesis 11:1). The proud people of Shinar, identified by scholars as Babylon, began building a city with a tower so tall that it scrapes the heavens. Angered by their arrogance, God takes away their common tongue, removing their ability to communicate. The workers abandon the tower and scatter across the land. Their incomplete city becomes known as Babel "because there the Lord confused the language of all the earth" (Genesis 11:9). Beneath the primary lesson of humility, the Tower of Babel delivers crucial insight into ancient people and a desire for a unified language.

WRITTEN IN STONE
An episode from the *Mahabharata*, a great Indian epic written in Sanskrit, is depicted on seventh- and eighth-century A.D. rock reliefs (above) carved at Mahabalipuram, India.

STUART FORSTER/CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES

THE PERSIAN VERSION
Inscriptions in Old Persian are carved in cuneiform script on the royal Achaemenid tombs at Naqsh-e Rostam, Iran.

ERIC LAFFORGUE/CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES

Modern scholars share this desire with their ancient ancestors. They have continued the search to find the earliest languages spoken by ancient people, hoping in earnest to find a common mother tongue. While academics debate about the existence and spread of a single unifying language, it is known that many languages today—spoken from the Americas to the Bay of Bengal—come from the Indo-European group of languages. Modern scholars have identified 10 different Indo-European branches: Anatolian, Indo-Iranian, Greek, Italic, Celtic, Germanic, Armenian, Tocharian, Balto-Slavic, and Albanian. These 10 groups have become the foundation for linguists to trace modern language development and for anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians to study humanity's distant past.

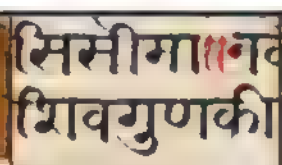
Around the world today, there are roughly 440 living languages that descend from Indo-European. More than 300 of them belong to the Indo-Iranian branch, which includes Persian, Urdu, Bengali, and Romani. Most European languages (with a few exceptions such as Basque, Hungarian, Finnish, and Estonian) are also Indo-European in origin, but they belong to different branches. Spoken in Greece since at least 1600 B.C., Greek is a language family all its own, while Latin and the Romance languages belong to the Italic. English, German, and Norwegian are a few that hail from the Germanic branch. Of all the Indo-European languages spoken today, the most popular in terms of active speakers are Spanish, English, Hindi, Bengali, Portuguese, and Russian.

ALL IN THE FAMILY

Languages in the 10 primary branches of the Indo-European tree began to be widely spoken in different eras.

CIRCA 1900 B.C.
Anatolian
Old Hittite (above)

CIRCA 1600 B.C.
Greek
Mycenaean (above)

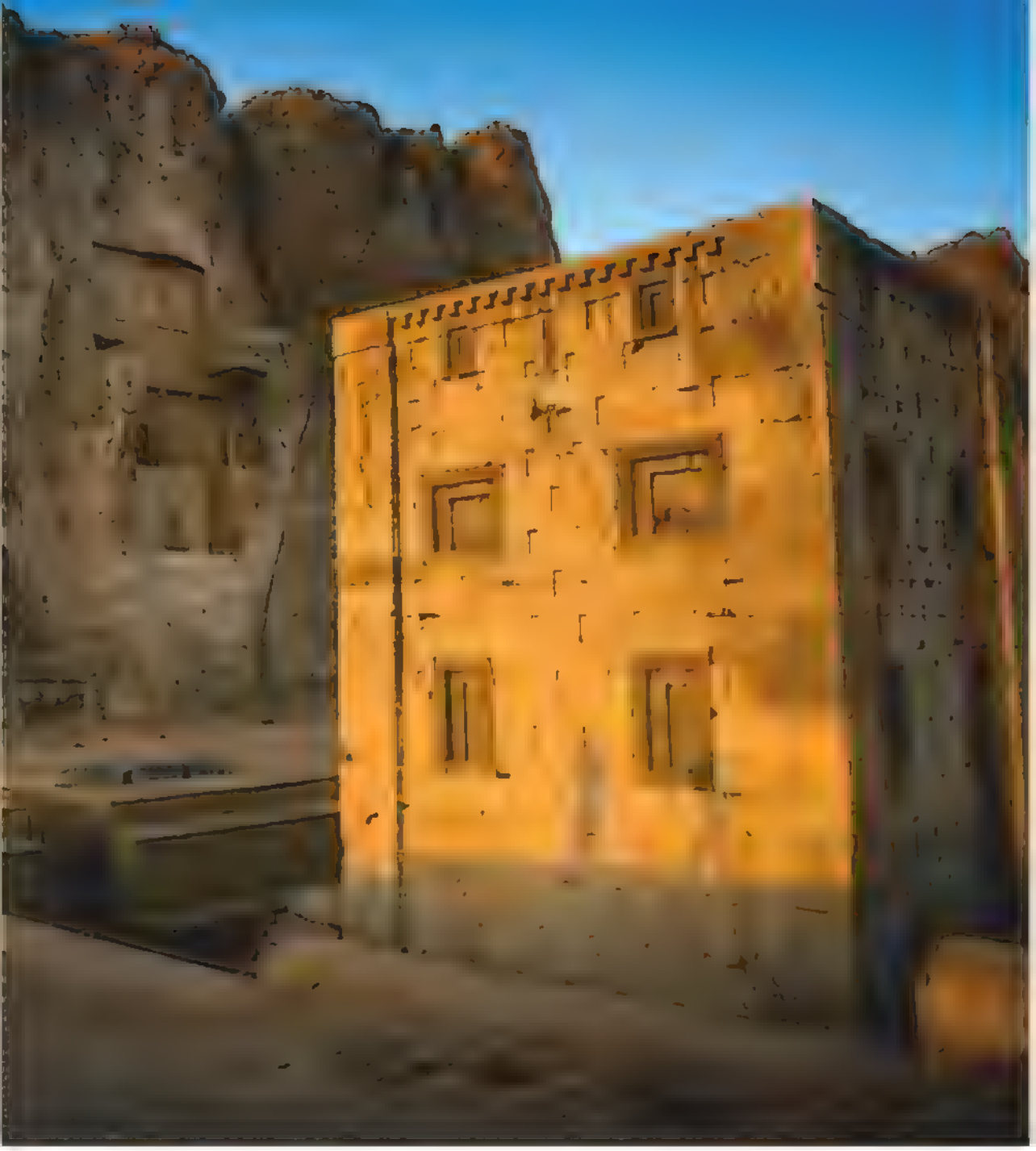


CIRCA 1000 B.C.
Indo-Iranian
Vedic Sanskrit (above)

CIRCA 900 B.C.
Italic
Old Latin (above)

CIRCA 500 B.C.
Celtic
Lepontic (above)

PICTURES: ALBUM. EXCEPT TOCHARIAN: BRIDGEMAN/ACI



FINDING THE WORDS

STRIKING COMPARISONS

In Calcutta (Kolkata), India, on February 2, 1786, Sir William Jones addressed the Asiatic Society of Bengal and made a now famous remark on the common origins of Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit: "The Sanscrit [*sic*] language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists; there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanscrit; and the old Persian might be added to the same family."

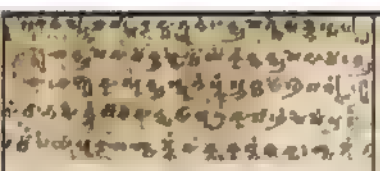
Mother Tongue

Scholars have a long history of searching for the time and place when one mother language was spoken by all living people. Writing during his travels to Egypt in the fifth century B.C., Greek historian Herodotus described the efforts of the Egyptian pharaoh Psamtik I (Psammetichus in Greek), who ruled in the seventh century B.C., to uncover humanity's primal language. Psamtik gave two infants to a shepherd to raise. The children would be fed and cared for, but no one was to speak to them. The pharaoh believed that when the children first spoke, their words would reveal humanity's original tongue.

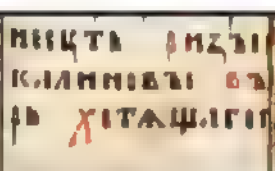
European scholars in the Middle Ages looked to several ancient tongues, including Hebrew, as possible candidates for the original proto-language. During the Renaissance, European scholars were able to turn up more clues as trade networks expanded. Increased travel to India surfaced similarities between Sanskrit and several European languages. In the 1580s Filippo Sassetti, an Italian merchant, noticed similar sounding words, and he recorded Sanskrit terms similar to their Italian equivalents: *deva/dio* (god/deity), *sarpa/serpe* (serpent), *sapta/sette* (seven), and *nava/nove* (new).

POLYGLOT PIONEER

William Jones was one of the first scholars to note links between diverse languages. He was 47 when his portrait (below) was painted in 1793, a year before his death.



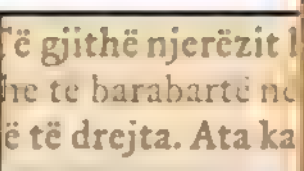
CIRCA A.D. 500
Tocharian
(above)



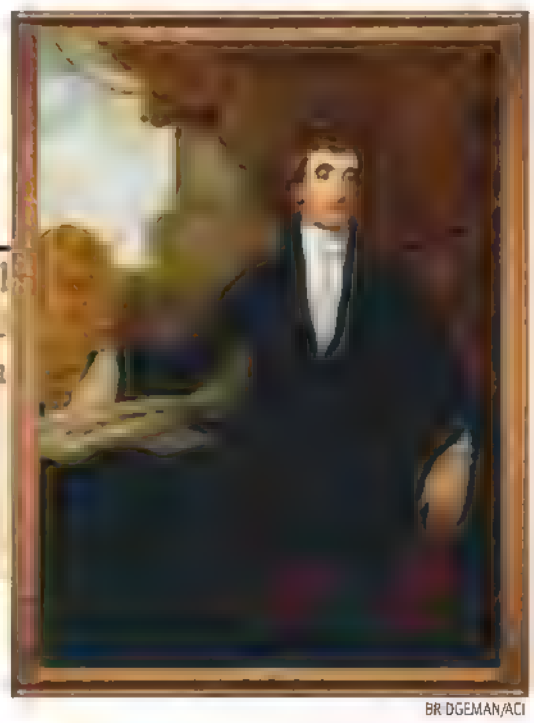
CIRCA A.D. 500
Balto-Slavic
Old Church Slavonic
(above)

CIRCA A.D. 600
Germanic
Runic
(above)

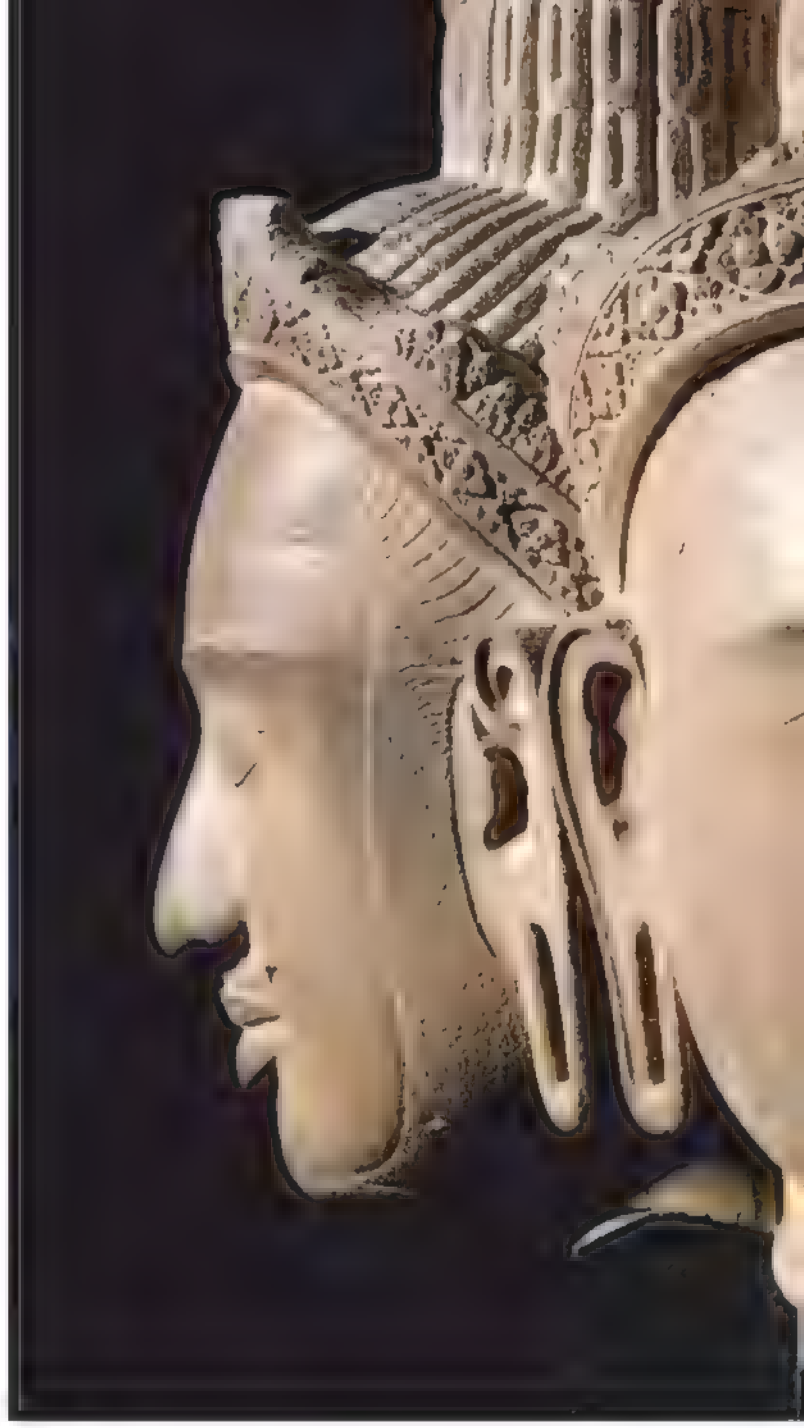
CIRCA A.D. 600
Armenian
Classical Armenian, Grabar (above)



CIRCA A.D. 1450
Albanian
Tosk dialect
(above)



BRIDGEMAN/ACI



HERD MENTALITY

A first-century A.D. Roman architectural relief (below) shows a sheep being led to sacrifice. The importance of sheep across cultures has helped scholars trace patterns across Indo-European culture.

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

In the centuries that followed, these kinds of comparisons would continue to be collected. A French scholar, Gaston-Laurent Coeurdoux, was the first to identify the similarity between Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, German, and Russian in 1767, but his findings were largely overlooked at the time. The first person to attract serious attention with these kinds of comparisons was William Jones, a British jurist with a gift for languages. Before his death in 1794, he had learned 28 languages, including Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, and Chinese.

In 1783 Jones became a judge of the supreme court in Calcutta (now Kolkata), India. He studied Sanskrit in preparation for his post and began to notice similarities between it and several languages. During his time in India, he founded, and was president of, the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In a 1786 address to the membership, Jones suggested that Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin had common ancestry. His theory sparked great interest in comparative linguistics, and a new discipline was born.

Pieces of PIE

Building on Jones's hypothesis, scholars began to compare languages to each other and work their way backward into the historical record. In the 19th century European scholars scoured ancient texts and inscriptions to track the origins of modern languages. The Germans Franz Bopp and Heinrich Hübschmann and the Danish Rasmus Rask were just a few of the notable scholars who took Jones's work and expanded it to draw new conclusions. They identified new members of the Indo-European family,such as the Slavic and Baltic languages. Their work also forged distinct branches for languages, like Albanian and Tocharian, previously grouped with others.

The further back these scholars reached, they found traces of a mother tongue for the Indo-European family. This progenitor is called Proto-Indo-European (PIE). Scholars in the 20th century developed this idea into a prominent theory. The language existed millennia ago among populations living in the Caucasus region who then spread to Europe, the Middle East, and Asia. Nobody knows for sure what PIE sounded or looked like, as no written records have survived; some conclude that no written language developed at all. Using material culture and archaeology,

A STRIKING THEORY

THE POWER OF THREE

While researching ancient cultures of the Caucasus, French linguist Georges Dumézil (1898-1986) recognized a theme common across Indo-European cultures, which he termed "trifunctionality." Aspects of life—sacred, social, or economic—tended to be divided into threes. Dumézil discovered tripartite structures in most Indo-European peoples, such as the three original castes of ancient India: Brahmans (priests and scholars), Kshatriyas (nobles and warriors), and Vaishyas (merchants). Many religions often feature tripartite structures, such as the Hindu trinity of gods (left). In Greek myth there are many triads, such as the Moirai, better known today as the three Fates, who determined the beginning, middle, and end of each mortal's life. The Holy Trinity of Christianity may also be an echo of deep, Indo-European belief systems.

they have reconstructed a picture of what PIE culture might have been like and how it could have spread with the language. Critics consider this type of linguistic "paleontology" controversial because it is subject to interpretation and vulnerable to drawing conclusions supported by weak evidence.

After many years of sifting through languages that developed out of PIE, linguists reconstructed an approximate word list of key terms. These root words convey traits, figures, practices, and symbols that had high significance across cultures. Sheep would have been important to all herders, and the PIE word for "sheep" is a root of that word in Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, Lithuanian, German, and English. To support theories like this one, scholars have used archaeological evidence to establish the importance of sheep in a shared culture.

The word "king" is believed to derive from the PIE word meaning "to extend one's arm," a gesture that connotes giving a command. Scholars tied these roots together by comparing similar kingship rituals across disparate cultures. One custom from ancient Rome involves the sacrifice of a racehorse and presentation of its tail to the Regia, wife of the sacred king. In another custom, parts of a sacrificed horse are brought to the king in the ancient Indian rite of Ashvamedha. In a third, an ancient Irish tradition, the king is symbolically wed to a slaughtered horse. Ritual links like these, in such different societies, suggest a shared significance across them.

Spreading the Word

Studying protolanguages also has geographical implications, as scholars strive to locate where PIE culture began. Among academics, there are a number of theories, but two leading contenders are the Kurgan and the Anatolian hypotheses. These two draw on a multidiscliplinary approach and utilize diverse supporting materials and evidence.

The Kurgan hypothesis was put forward by the Lithuanian-born American archaeologist Marija Gimbutas in the 1950s. She believed that the Indo-Europeans were associated with the Yamna culture that lived on the Pontic-Caspian

DIVINE TRIAD
Flanked by Vishnu the preserver and Shiva the destroyer, the Hindu god Brahma the creator smiles in this late ninth-century A.D. sandstone sculpture (above). Musée Guimet, Paris

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

SOMETHING IN COMMON

About 440 living languages around the world share Indo-European roots, and similarities between terms and concepts can be striking. An asterisk before an Indo-European root indicates that these words are reconstructions supported by evidence other than script or writing.

CHARIOT (ABOVE) WITH WINGED VICTORY, DEPICTED ON A SILVER DECADRACHM MINTED IN THE CITY OF SYRACUSE. FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

DEA/ALBUM

Family

Father: The Indo-European term is ****pətḗ(r)***. In Sanskrit it is ***pitā́r;*** in German, ***vater;*** in Celtic (Old Irish), ***athair;*** in Latin, ***pater;*** in French, ***père;*** and in Spanish, ***padre***.

Mother: In Indo-European the term is ****mātér***. In Sanskrit it is ***mātār;*** in Latin, ***mater;*** in Old Irish, ***māthair;*** in Russian, ***mati;*** in German, ***mutter;*** in French, ***mère;*** and in Spanish, ***madre***.

Brother: The Indo-European word ****bhráter*** is the origin of the Sanskrit word ***bhrátar,*** the Old Irish ***bráthair,*** the Latin ***frater*—**from which derives the French word ***frère,*** and the English synonym for brotherly, ***fraternal*—**the German ***bruder,*** and the Russian ***brat***.

Sister: The Indo-European word is ****swesor***. In Sanskrit it is ***svásar;*** in Old Irish, ***siur;*** in Latin, ***soror;*** in Russian, ***sestrá;*** in German, ***schwester;*** and in French, ***soeur***.

MATERNAL GODDESS (RIGHT) ASSOCIATED WITH RAISING CHILDREN. ARCHAIC GREEK ART. NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK, COPENHAGEN

PRISMA/ALBUM

STEPPE-ING STONES

Some associate the Indo-Europeans with the Yamna culture of the Pontic-Caspian Steppe, located north of the Black and Caspian Seas. These distinctive Yamna statues (below) were carved in the third millennium B.C. Archaeological Museum, Kerch, Crimea

PRISMA/ALBUM

Steppe, north of the Black and Caspian Seas. Making the most of the domestication of horses, the nomadic herders expanded throughout Europe in several different waves of migration starting around 6,000 years ago. As they moved south and east, they subjugated the peoples they encountered while spreading PIE language and culture. Gimbutas expounded the contrast between the warrior nomads, who buried their dead in kurgans (burial mounds), and the more peaceable Neolithic agriculturalists they displaced.

In 1987 British archaeologist Colin Renfrew proposed what became known as the Anatolian hypothesis, which dates the spread of PIE to a much earlier time, roughly 8,000 to 9,500 years ago. Renfrew also sees different motivations behind the migrations and theorized that farmers were not displaced due to war. Rather they peacefully expanded out of Anatolia (modern-day Turkey) west through Europe and east to Central Asia. As they moved outward, they spread agriculture and language with them.

In recent decades advances in genetics have made it possible to analyze ancient DNA as a way to study human migrations and make deeper assessments of these two theories. More recently, Italian geneticist Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza examined genetic data from these regions and stated that Renfrew's and Gimbutas's theories do not so much contradict as complement each other: "Genetically speaking, peoples of the Kurgan steppe descended at least in part from people of the Middle Eastern Neolithic who [had] immigrated there from Turkey."

The question as to which theory is the more likely, however, is a heated debate among scholars. Yet there is, at least, a degree of consensus that the root of scores of languages scattered across a swath of the globe originated in Asia between 6,000 and 9,500 years ago, and is closely connected with agriculture in the Neolithic period. ■

SANSKRIT SPECIALIST **ÓSCAR PUJOL** IS A PROFESSOR AT THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AT THE BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY, VARANASI, INDIA.

Religion

God: In Indo-European it is ****déiwo-s,*** from which is derived the Sanskrit ***devá,*** the Old Irish ***día,*** the Latin ***deus*** (from which, the English ***divine, divinity***), the Spanish ***dios,*** and the French ***dieu.***

Animals

Livestock: In Indo-European the term is ****péku.*** The Sanskrit is ***páśu;*** the Gothic, ***faihu*** (related, also, to money). The German is ***vieh***—which, continuing the money association, is also the root of the English word ***fee.*** The Latin for livestock, ***pecu,*** is the root of the English ***pecuniary.***

Cow: The Indo-European is ****g^{w}ōu,*** from which come the Sanskrit ***gáu,*** the Latvian ***gùovs,*** and the German ***kuh.***

Transportation

Wheel: One of the Indo-European words for wheel is ****k^{w}el,*** the root for English, Dutch ***(wiel),*** and some other languages. Another Indo-European word for wheel, ****roto,*** is the root for the Latin ***(rota),*** Spanish ***(rueda),*** German ***(rad),*** and French ***(roue)*** words.

Examples above can be found in the *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture,* edited by J. P. Mallory and D. Q. Adams.

18TH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT (ABOVE) OF THE SIKH SCRIPTURE THE DASAM GRANTH, WITH TEXTS IN HINDI, PERSIAN, AND OTHERS, ALL IN GURMUKHI SCRIPT

AKG/ALBUM

THE HOMELAND OF THE INDO-EUROPEANS. There are two main theories regarding the original place from which the Indo-Europeans spread in successive waves. One theory argues that they originated in Anatolia in the Neolithic period. The other theory, the Kurgan hypothesis, posits that they started out farther north, in the Pontic-Caspian Steppe. Recent genetic studies have complicated the picture, suggesting that the people who spread from the steppe were of Anatolian origin. It may be that there was no single homeland and that the Indo-Europeans were not a homogeneous people.

MAP: EOSG.COM

ROOTS AND BRANCHES

Linguists identify 10 main branches that sprang from Indo-European, in turn leading to multiple subbranches, many of which are shown here. Like any ancient tree, some branches still thrive, while others have withered and faded.

IN 1815 EUROPEAN POWERS HELD COLONIES IN LANDS FAR FROM HOME. IMPERIALISM SPREAD INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES—ESPECIALLY ENGLISH AND SPANISH—ALL OVER THE WORLD

Life and Death of Languages

Of the 10 main branches that spring from Indo-European, two are extinct: Anatolian and Tocharian. The latter was once spoken in the Tarim Basin, today in northwestern China, and represents the easternmost reach of this prodigious family of languages. Texts written in Anatolian, Indo-Iranian, and Greek are among the oldest of Indo-European languages that have been found on artifacts by archaeologists.

Some branches, such as the Indo-Iranian group, split into a complex series of subbranches, which in turn sprouted with numerous languages now spoken across swathes of modern-day India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Iran. Other principal branches, such as Albanian or Armenian, are centered on much smaller populations. Some branches have waxed and waned geographically: The Celtic branch—today associated with Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and Brittany—once comprised languages spoken in modern-day Spain and Turkey.

From the Renaissance on, European colonial expansion exported Indo-European languages all over the globe into different parts of the world. A language derived from Vulgar Latin, Spanish, and an obscure West Germanic language, English, became respectively the second and third most-spoken native languages in the world today.

ILLUSTRATION: SANT PÉREZ. MAP: ALAMY/AC

Justice and the Pharaohs

LAW AND ORDER IN THE NEW KINGDOM

JUST DESSERTS

Officials beat a man with sticks, probably for failing to fulfill his tax obligations, in a detail from a painting in the New Kingdom tomb of Menna. Below, the crook and flail were found in the tomb of the boy king, Tutankhamun. The flail was a symbol of the pharaoh's judicial authority.

PAINTING: AKG/ALBUM

CROOK AND FLAIL: UIG/GETTY IMAGES

Reflecting the order of the cosmos, a pharaoh's duty was to instill justice on earth. He created laws as the need arose, even pronouncing judgment after death, through the mouth of oracular statues.

IRENE CORDÓN

SYMBOLS OF JUSTICE

A bas-relief from the New Kingdom shows Maat (above), the goddess of order and justice, wearing her distinctive ostrich feather headdress. Archaeological Museum, Florence

SCALA, FLORENCE

MAAT'S SACRED BALANCE

AT THE APEX OF THE EGYPTIAN STATE, often represented as a social pyramid, was the pharaoh, who was expected to rule the country in perfect balance and harmony. This balance matched the concept of Maat. For the ancient Egyptians, the term Maat signified order, truth, and justice. Maat was personified as a goddess who wore a very distinctive headdress, an ostrich feather. According to Egyptian theology, in the underworld the god Osiris would weigh the heart of a deceased person against Maat's ostrich feather to determine how virtuous their lives had been. Egyptian writings emphasize that the king, as the intermediary between the gods and humankind, had a duty to ensure Maat in Egypt: "Ra has placed the king in the land of the living forever and ever to judge mankind, to satisfy the gods, to guarantee Maat and to wipe out isfet [chaos and injustice]," says a theological treaty written in the time of Queen Hatshepsut (1490-1468 B.C.). The vizier, Egypt's supreme legal authority, held the title Priest of Maat, and often wore amulets featuring emblems of the goddess.

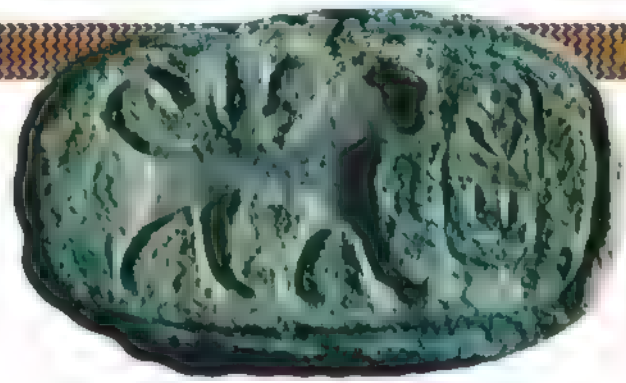
Egypt's first laws emerged when the Upper and Lower kingdoms were unified, according to tradition, under King Menes around 2950 B.C. From then on, different pharaohs would bring their own approaches to law and order. Although rulers would change, the unifying principle of the monarch's sovereignty did not. Pharaohs held supreme authority in settling disputes, but they often delegated these powers to other officials such as governors, viziers, and magistrates, who could conduct investigations, hold trials, and issue punishments. Unlike the legal Code of Hammurabi, developed in the 18th century B.C. in Mesopotamia, ancient Egyptian law was not set in stone, and although power always flowed from the pharaoh, Egypt's laws were rather like the Nile: fluid, organic, and changing with the times.

In Egyptian cosmology, the goddess Maat embodied the concepts of order, truth, and justice. Viziers often wore a pendant in the form of the goddess, who is often shown with an ostrich feather on her head. Egyptians believed that living according to her precepts—honesty, loyalty, and obedience to the king—would keep chaos at bay. Egyptian kings were not exempt from living by Maat's principles. They too were expected to

CIRCA 1539 B.C. — CIRCA 1550 B.C.

JUSTICE IN A NEW KINGDOM

Stability is restored under the New Kingdom. Kingship and the law become more entwined. The posthumous oracle of Amenhotep I is consulted to settle legal cases.



TERRA-COTTA SEAL OF PHARAOH AMENHOTEP I. LOUVRE MUSEUM, PARIS

SCALA, FLORENCE

Deir el Medina, housing the builders of the Valley of the Kings, is founded. Records found there shed light on the workings of Egyptian justice across a broad swath of the New Kingdom period.

THE FATE OF FOREIGN REBELS
Native Egyptians were not the only ones subject to the king's severe justice. The first pylon of the Mortuary Temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu depicts the pharaoh seizing foreign enemies by the hair in preparation for their collective smiting.

JULIAN LOVE/AWL-IMAGES

uphold order through wise rule, just decisions, and humility before the gods. This belief united commoners and kings in the responsibility for maintaining balance and harmony in society, which may have led to fewer periods of civil unrest in Egypt's long history.

Crimes in ancient Egypt tended to be divided into two categories: crimes against the state and crimes against individuals. Desertion, treason, and slandering the pharaoh fell into the first, while acts such as homicide, injury, robbery, and theft fell into the second. Much of what is known about ancient Egypt's legal system comes from the New Kingdom period (ca 1539–1075 B.C.) and the archaeological site of Deir el Medina, across the Nile from Thebes. Located there was a village of artisans and workers, who labored in the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens, building tombs for pharaohs and their families. Digs at Deir el Medina have yielded more than 250 papyri and some ostraca (fragments of stone and potsherds) containing detailed accounts of legal matters at all levels of society.

Divine Justice

The texts reveal the different ways that people could seek justice. One of the most popular was the use of divine oracles. In and around Thebes

CIRCA 1286 B.C.

A land dispute document details the workings of New Kingdom courts, known as *kenbets*. Local kenbets passed serious cases to a higher kenbet. Heading up the system was the vizier, second only to the pharaoh.

CIRCA 1190 B.C.

An early 20th-dynasty document, the Papyrus Salt 124, presents the charges against a corrupt Deir el Medina worker to the vizier, revealing the power wielded by the pharaoh's deputy.

1156 B.C.

The Judicial Papyrus details a trial of conspirators targeting Ramses III. Despite the harsh justice meted out, the plot is part of a series of succession crises heralding the decline of the New Kingdom.

A PALETTE BELONGING TO A ROYAL SCRIBE OF THE NEW KINGDOM

QUINTOX/ALBUM

CAUGHT IN HER COILS

A sandstone statue of the cobra goddess Meretseger (above) depicts the fearsome deity who punished wrongdoers and guarded the craftsmen's village near Deir el Medina during the New Kingdom. Brooklyn Museum, New York

BROOKLYN MUSEUM, NY/ACI

DIVINE PUNISHMENT

THE SNAKE GODDESS Meretseger was revered and feared by the people of Thebes who built the Valley of the Kings. The name Meretseger means "she who loves silence," and she watched over the tombs in the Theban necropolis. Workers also referred to her as "Peak of the West," a nod to the pyramid-shaped mountaintop (known today as Al Qurn) above the Valley of the Kings, where she dwelled. The goddess's appearance varies across different works of art, but snakes feature heavily in her iconography; often she is shown as a coiled cobra with a woman's head. Meretseger protected tombs from desecration and robbers, and unlike most Egyptian deities, she would strike down criminals. The workers of Thebes believed that the goddess punished criminals and oath breakers with blindness and venomous snakebites. Feared for her wrath, Meretseger could also show mercy. Truly repentant transgressors could pray for forgiveness and a cure. The goddess remained a local deity, sacred to the tomb builders. When the Valley of the Kings fell out of favor with the pharaohs, worship of Meretseger faded as well.

the oracular voice was attributed to a deceased pharaoh, Amenhotep I, the focus of an important Theban cult. The second king of the 18th dynasty, Amenhotep I consolidated Egyptian power following his father's expulsion of the Hyksos invaders from Lower Egypt. Although his own tomb has not been found, Amenhotep I is believed to have started the tradition of rulers being buried in the Valley of the Kings. He and his mother, Ahmose Nefertari, are also credited with founding the village at Deir el Medina and were worshipped as patron gods there.

Although it was common for especially renowned pharaohs to become the center of cults after their death, Amenhotep's is among the most popular and enduring. Egyptians believed that his spirit resided in his oracular statue and proper ceremonies could summon it. Residents often turned to the statue to settle legal disputes.

Bearing Amenhotep I's statue on their shoulders, priests would carry it out of the temple during processions and on feast days. A crowd would gather around it, and litigants would present their cases to the statue. Each side would present its case or question, either verbally or in writing. The god's answers were interpreted by its swaying movements.

The workers consulted the statue for centuries. One fragment from the Deir el Medina site dates to the 20th dynasty. It records the request of a workman, Nekhemmut, who asked the statue to reveal the identity of a person who was stealing from him. From the records found among the ostraca, most inquiries were similar, mundane matters, centering on real estate and personal property.

Oracular statues were also consulted in other parts of Egypt during the New Kingdom. Located close to Thebes, a statue of the god Amun was also consulted on legal matters. Sometimes, those accused by an oracle would protest against the verdict, and ask for the matter to be put before another oracular statue for a second opinion. Inscribed during the reign of Ramses III, papyrus 10335 (now in the British Museum) recounts the theft of five dyed tunics from a temple storehouse. The crime was brought before an oracle. The statue's answers fingered one suspect from

JUDGE AND PHARAOH

A lintel from the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak depicts Amenhotep I, the second ruler of the 18th dynasty. This warrior king expanded the borders of his realm and was deified after his death. His cult consulted his statue on questions of justice.

DEA/GETTY IMAGES

ARTISANS' VILLAGE

On the west bank of the Nile, the site of Deir el Medina was home to the New Kingdom masons and craftsmen who built the tombs in the Valley of the Kings. Systematically excavated from the early 1900s, it has yielded much information about the workings of justice under the pharaohs.

CRIME RING

FORCED CONFESSIONS

Investigations of serious crimes often involved interrogations by court officials, and in ancient Egypt, these interviews could turn brutal. Confessions were often elicited under torture, but ancient Egyptians were frank about using physical pain to extract information. Texts, like the Abbott Papyrus, describe how officials tortured suspects when questioning them. At this time, toward the end of the 20th dynasty, looting royal tombs had become an increasing concern to local officials. In the 16th year of the rule of Ramses IX (around 1100 B.C.), a well-organized network of criminals in Thebes was uncovered. They were known for looting tombs, some of them belonging to eminent government officials and royalty. During their interrogations, the accused were beaten with a stick and their hands and feet were twisted. They confessed to breaking into tombs, including a royal burial, and stealing objects. When the tombs were examined, several had been disturbed, but many were still intact.

THE ABBOTT PAPYRUS (ABOVE), HELD BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM, IS ONE OF SEVERAL PAPYRI CONTAINING DETAILS ABOUT INVESTIGATIONS OF A SERIES OF TOMB ROBBERIES IN THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS, THE VALLEY OF THE QUEENS, AND THE VALLEY OF THE KINGS

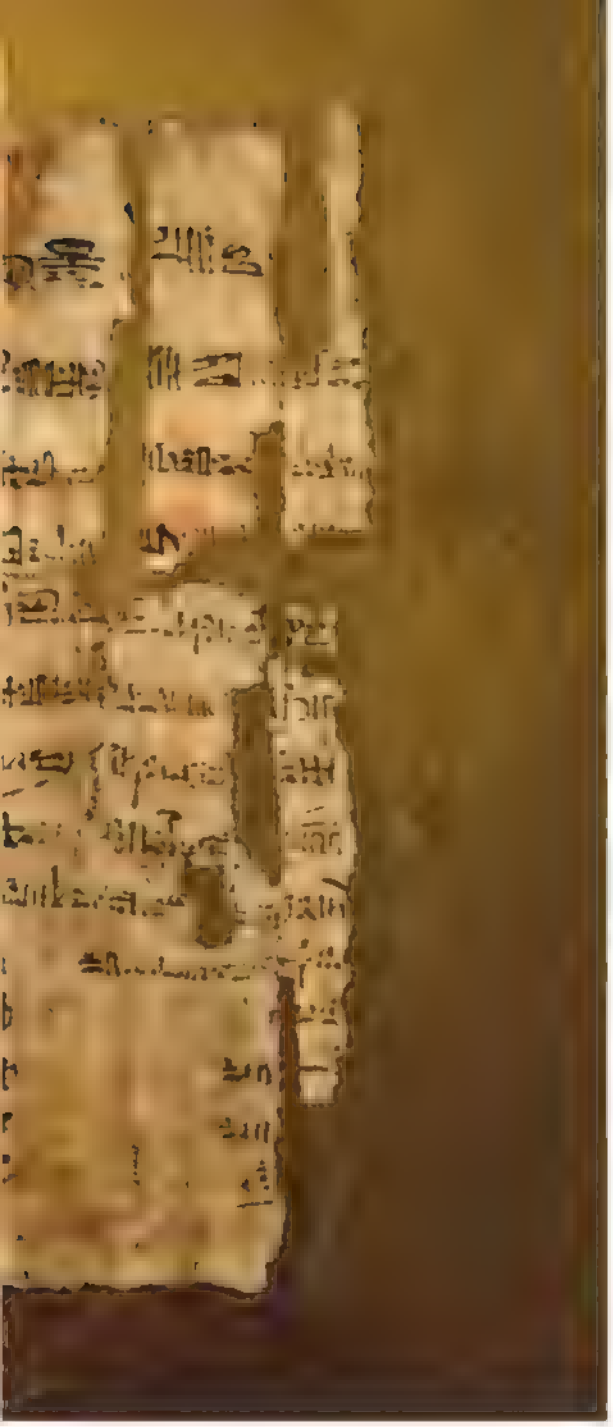
BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE

a list of names as the guilty party. The accused vociferously denied the charge and requested a second and then a third opinion. After his last request, the patience of the gods, and the crowd, ran out. He was found guilty, beaten on the spot as punishment, and forced to restore the stolen goods to the temple.

Trial by Jury

In addition to the oracles, there was another, more formal method of resolving legal disputes during the New Kingdom. The *kenbet* (secular court) most closely resembles the approach of modern trials by jury. Two major kenbets were located in Memphis and Thebes and functioned like a high court. The major kenbet juries consisted of higher-ranking members of society, such as scribes of the vizier of Thebes or police chiefs. There is evidence that access to the kenbet service was surprisingly democratic, and that petitioners of higher social status were not given preferential treatment.

The kenbet typically handled civil issues such as nonpayment for goods or services, disputes



OFFICIALS PUNISH A WRONGDOER. THIRD-MILLENNIUM B.C. RELIEF ON THE TOMB OF MERERUKA IN THE NECROPOLIS OF SAQQARA

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

and quarrels between neighbors, theft, injuries, and calumnies. The kenbets were empowered to administer punishments for the minor offenses that came before them, which usually entailed the guilty party suffering a beating. In a few cases, when a kenbet could not reach a decision, it would recommend that the question be submitted to the oracular statues for resolution.

Lesser kenbet councils sat in the region's smaller towns, like the builders' village. They would hear complaints of local residents and decide their cases. Scholars believe that juries consisted of craftsmen and artisans, who would sit in judgment over their fellow workers. If a serious crime originated in the lower kenbet, it would be moved up the legal system to the major kenbet councils, which reported directly to the vizier, the pharaoh's principal minister.

Famous among historians, one case originated in the local kenbet near Deir el Medina. The accused, a woman called Heria, was initially charged with stealing a cup from a resident. The lower kenbet ordered that Heria's house be searched for the missing property. The search revealed not only the cup but also goods missing from the temple of Amun. Theft from a temple was a more serious crime. The kenbet found Heria guilty of stealing the cup and then passed the matter of the stolen temple goods to be judged by the vizier. When passing off the case, the kenbet sent a letter to the vizier noting its thoughts: "Heria is a great fraud who deserves to die."

High Crimes

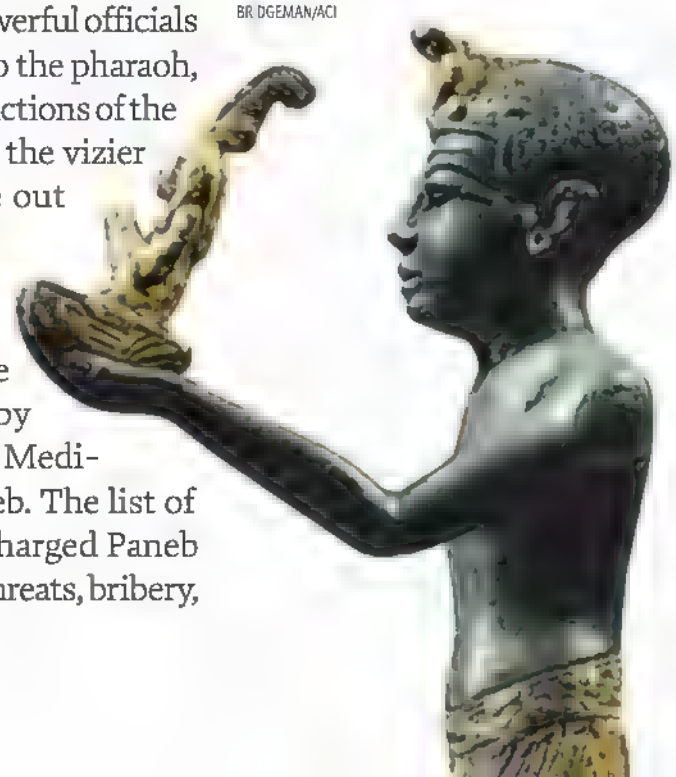
The vizier was one of the most powerful officials in Egypt. Second in power only to the pharaoh, he oversaw the administrative functions of the government. For serious crimes, the vizier served as judge and could dole out punishments or grant pardons.

A papyrus known as Salt 124 details a case from the 20th dynasty that was heard by the vizier. The case was brought by Amennakht, a worker at Deir el Medina, against another worker, Paneb. The list of crimes was long: Amennakht charged Paneb with theft, looting tombs, death threats, bribery,

JUSTICE FROM ON HIGH

A silver statuette of a New Kingdom pharaoh (below) holds an icon of Maat. In dispensing justice, the king mediated between heaven and earth. Louvre Museum, Paris

BRIDGEMAN/ACI



CAPTIVE CRIMINALS

LABOR AND THE LAW

Long periods of imprisonment as punishment for crimes was not practiced in ancient Egypt. Texts do mention the *kheneret*, an institution originating during the Old Kingdom (ca 2575-2150 B.C.). All traces of it had disappeared by the start of the New Kingdom, which began around 1539 B.C. Scholars debate the exact function of the kheneret; many believe them to be forced labor camps. As of this writing, archaeologists have not positively identified any sites as being a kheneret, so all information about them comes from inscriptions and texts. Depending on the gravity of the crime, the accused were sometimes sent to forced labor camps situated in other countries or on Egypt's borders. A decree dating from the 5th dynasty states: "You must send him to the Great Mansion and he must be put to work in the stone quarry." Workers in these camps could have been criminals as well as prisoners of war. During the Middle Kingdom people were sent to the kheneret when they shirked the tasks they were obliged to do for the pharaoh.

PRISONERS OF WAR DEPICTED ON THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF RAMSES III AT MEDINET HABU (ABOVE) WERE "BOUND FOR LIFE" AND BECAME THE PROPERTY OF THE PHARAOH AFTER CAPTURE.

AKG/ALBUM

misappropriation of tools belonging to the government, bullying the villagers, sexual assault, blasphemy, and murder. Paneb defended himself by claiming that Amennakht was seeking revenge because he felt Paneb had stolen a job from him.

The case most likely came before the vizier because of the charges of tomb raiding. Stealing from one's neighbor was a crime for the kenbet. Stealing from the royal dead or from Egyptian temples was a much graver offense.

Facing Punishment

When people were convicted of crimes, the penalties depended both on the severity of the offense and their level of involvement. The typical penalty for stealing was returning the stolen object and paying its rightful owner double or triple its value. If someone stole from a temple, however, the punishment was more severe: it could include paying a hundred times the value of the object, corporal punishment, or even death.

Little evidence has been found for imprisonment in ancient Egypt. Criminal punishment tended to be administered immediately rather

than by means of a long sentence. Forced labor was common, and criminals were also threatened with exile to Nubia, where scholars believe they were put to work in mines. Corporal punishment was also common in the form of public beatings, brandings, or mutilations.

The most serious crimes, like treason, were punishable by death. One of the most famous occurrences of the death penalty resulted from the harem conspiracy against Ramses III in the early 12th century B.C. The Judicial Papyrus of Turin documents the plot and how the king's secondary wife, Tiye, conspired to kill Ramses and install her son, Pentawere, on the throne.

Part of Tiye's plot succeeded: Analysis of Ramses III's mummy revealed that his throat had been slashed, and he did not survive the attack. The other part of Tiye's plot failed: The conspiracy was uncovered before Pentawere could take the throne. Ramses IV quickly shored up his power as the new king and turned to punishing his father's assassins.

The Judicial Papyrus extensively details the charges, trials, and punishments of those involved in the wide-ranging conspiracy, who held positions at all levels of Ramses III's court, from harem officials to servants. Penalties ranged from death to mutilation. Tiye's chief conspirator received a harsh sentence:

> The great criminal Paibekkamen . . . had been in collusion with Teye [*sic*] and the women of the harem; he had made common cause with them . . . He was placed before the great officials of the Court of Examination; . . . his crimes seized him; the officials who examined him caused his punishment to overtake him.

How the law dealt with Queen Tiye is unknown, but her son Pentawere was allowed to commit suicide. Scholars believe the lesser conspirators were put to death by impalement. The pharaoh's justice was unrelenting because his role in keeping order, according to Maat's principles, was critical to preserving the well-being of Egypt.

EGYPTOLOGIST IRENE CORDÓN HAS WRITTEN EXTENSIVELY ON THE ANCIENT TOMB-BUILDING COMMUNITY OF DEIR EL MEDINA IN EGYPT

LOOKING THE PART

In his mortuary chapel in the Theban necropolis, the 18th-dynasty vizier Rekhmire is depicted with the accoutrements of his office: a long, white tunic (a *shenep*, which reaches from his chest to his ankles) and a scepter known as an *aba*.

ARALDO DE LUCA

THE HARSHEST PUNISHMENTS

Justice in ancient Egypt encompassed a range of physical punishments: disfigurement, beatings, and floggings. Punishments were typically administered in public and meted out to citizens for crimes such as nonpayment of taxes. Corporal punishment was common for lesser crimes, but in the most severe cases, the Egyptian state would execute offenders. Robbing royal tombs, injuring the pharaoh, and treason were all regarded as the worst crimes Egyptian citizens could commit. If criminals were caught, they would be punished by death. Executions were carried out in a number of ways, most often in public. Members of privileged classes could sometimes opt to take their own lives by swallowing poison rather than undergoing a painful death in public. The harshest punishment was not only death in this world but death in the afterlife. Burning a person's body, throwing their remains into the Nile, and erasing their names from history were the most serious punishments that could be inflicted, as the person would not exist either here or in the hereafter. In these cases, families would not receive the body for burial or for the purposes of funerary rites.

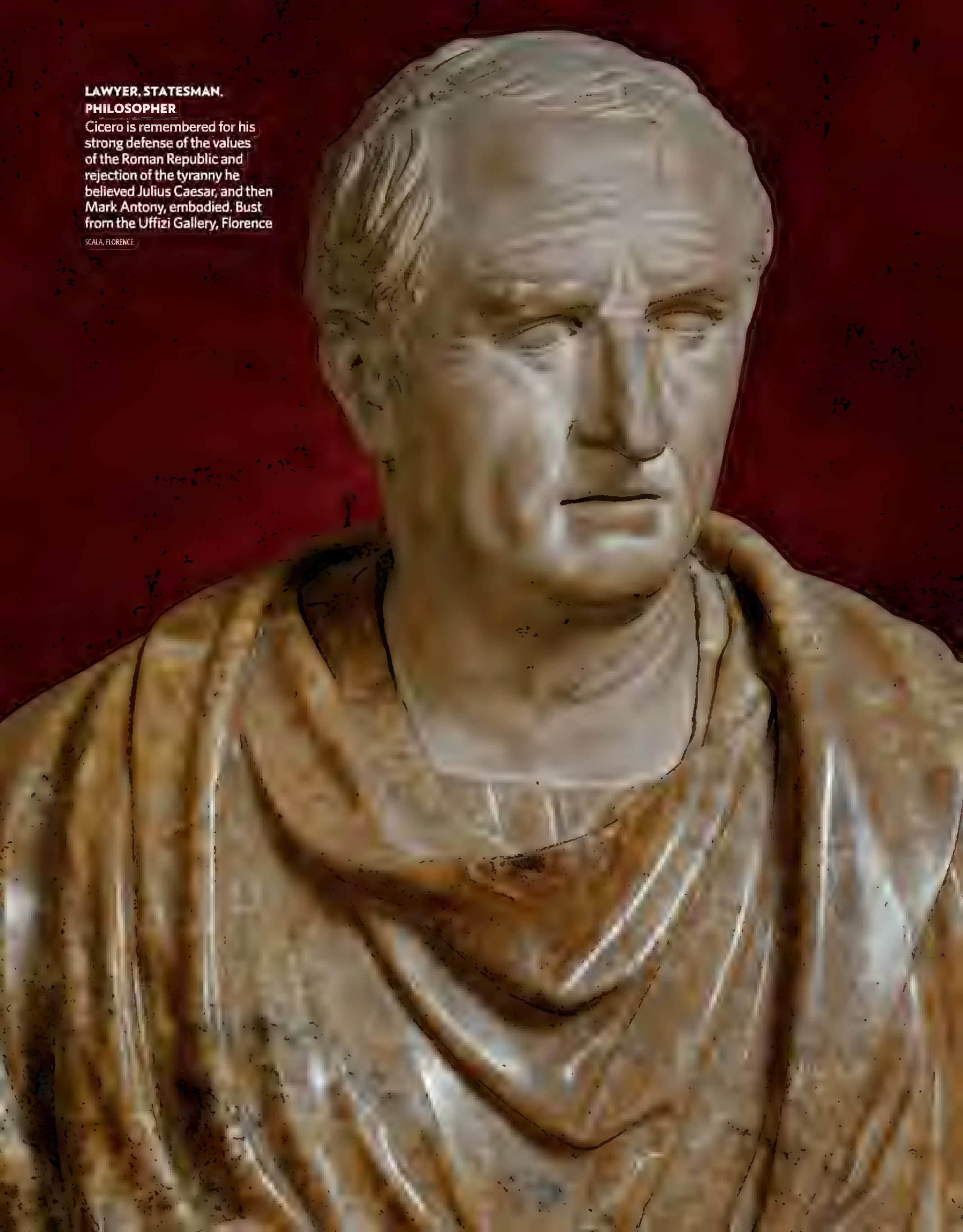
BRONZE FIGURINE OF THE GODDESS MAAT ON A THRONE WITH HER CHARACTER STIC OSTRICH FEATHER ON HER HEAD. 21ST OR 22ND DYNASTY

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

A PRISONER IS RESTRAINED PRIOR TO BE BEING BEATEN IN AN ENGRAVING OF AN MAGE FOUND IN THE TOMB OF THE 12TH-DYNASTY OFFICIAL BAKET III. *DESCRIPTION DE L'ÉGYPTE*, 1809

AKG/ALBUM

1556.



LAWYER, STATESMAN, PHILOSOPHER

Cicero is remembered for his strong defense of the values of the Roman Republic and rejection of the tyranny he believed Julius Caesar, and then Mark Antony, embodied. Bust from the Uffizi Gallery, Florence

SCALA, FLORENCE

Death of the Roman Republic

THE LAST WORDS OF CICERO

In 43 B.C. two Roman soldiers stopped a litter near the port of Gaeta. Inside sat a 64-year-old man: Rome's greatest orator, the republic's last champion, and the recipient of a death sentence from Mark Antony.

JOSÉ MIGUEL BAÑOS

RETURN TO ROME

After a brief exile, Cicero returned to Rome in 57 B.C., an event depicted by Francesco di Cristofano in a vibrant painting (above) that adorns a Medici villa in the town of Poggio a Caiano, Italy.

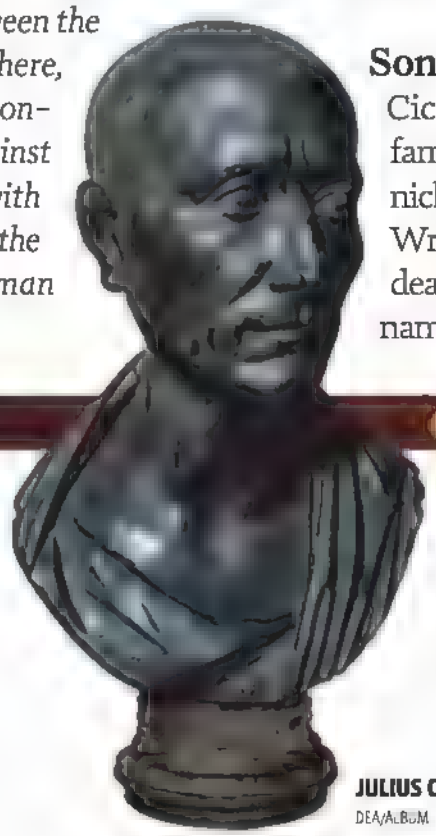
SCALA, FLORENCE

As he leaned out of the litter and offered his neck unmoved, his head was cut off. Nor did this satisfy the senseless cruelty of the soldiers. They cut off his hands, also, for the offense of having written something against Antony. Thus, the head was brought to Antony and placed by his order between the two hands on the rostra, where, often as consul, often as a consular, and, that very year against Antony, he had been heard with admiration of his eloquence, the like of which no other human voice ever uttered."

The second-century A.D. historian Appian vividly recreated the moment the Roman Republic truly died: When the great orator Marcus Tullius Cicero was struck down by the forces of his enemies. Cicero's death between Rome and what is today Naples, on December 7, 43 B.C., brought closer the era of empire.

Son of the Republic

Cicero was born in 106 B.C. into a wealthy family whose surname originated from the nickname *cicer*, the Latin word for "chickpea." Writing of Cicero about a century after his death, Greek historian Plutarch believed the name came from an ancestor who had a dent



JULIUS CAESAR. FIRST-CENTURY B.C. BUST, VATICAN MUSEUMS
DEA/ALBUM

CHAMPION OF THE REPUBLIC

63 B.C.

Cicero's speeches are crucial in dismantling a conspiracy led by Catiline, an aristocrat who wanted to bring down the republic. Catiline is later killed, and Cicero is hailed as "father of the fatherland"

49 B.C.

Julius Caesar crosses the Rubicon with his army and starts the civil war against his rival, Pompey the Great. Cicero, who regards Caesar as an enemy, flees Rome along with a majority of senators and withdraws to his country retreat.

in his nose resembling the cleft of a chickpea.

Cicero's family was wealthy but did not belong to the patrician class, the aristocracy of Rome. His family belonged to the equestrian class, which sat below the patricians and above the plebeians, the working class of the republic. His family had strong military connections, but not the political ones necessary for the career in government desired by Cicero.

Educated in Rome and in Greece, Cicero aimed to scale the political ladder as quickly as possible. He would do so as a *novus homo*, new man, a term which signified that his family did not come from the ruling class. Cicero served briefly in the military before turning to a career in law. He tried his first case in 81 B.C., and then successfully defended a man accused of parricide—a bright beginning to Cicero's public life.

Marriage at age 27 into a wealthy family brought him the necessary funds to continue to rise. After he wed in 79 B.C., Cicero's career took off, and he rapidly rose through the ranks. He was elected quaestor in 75, praetor in 66, and consul in 63, the highest political office in the republic. Cicero was one of the youngest ever to reach that high office.

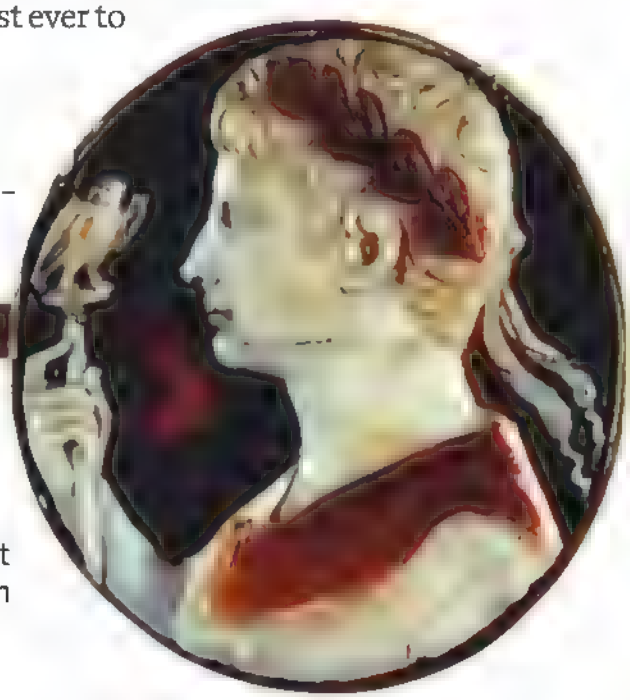
Consul and Conspiracy

Wielders of *imperium*, Roman authority, consuls held executive power in

CAESAR'S HEIR

Part of the Cross of Lothair, a cameo (below) depicts Octavian after he became emperor of Rome. Circa A.D. 1000, Aachen Cathedral Treasury

E. LESSING/ALBUM



48 B.C.

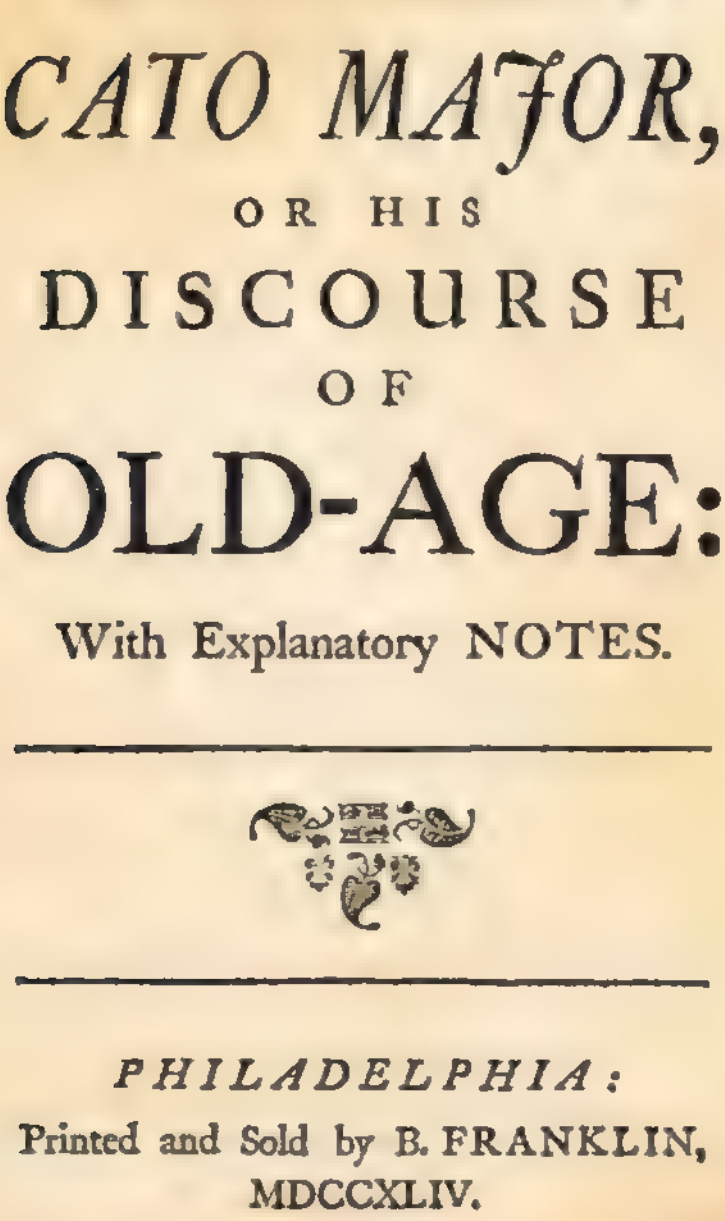
Cicero is reunited with **Pompey** in Greece. After Pompey's forces are defeated at Pharsalus, Cicero returns to Rome and is superficially reconciled with Caesar. He retires to his rural villa, where he writes poetry.

44 B.C.

Five months after the assassination of Julius Caesar, Cicero releases the first of his **Philippics**, a series of 14 speeches in which he bitterly decries the power-hungry consul Mark Antony. Cicero requests that the Senate declare Mark Antony a public enemy, but they refuse.

43 B.C.

On December 7 **Mark Antony** has Cicero killed and then displays Cicero's severed head and right hand on the rostrum in the Forum.


M. T. CICERO's
CATO MAJOR,
OR HIS
DISCOURSE
OF
OLD-AGE:
With Explanatory NOTES.
PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and Sold by B. FRANKLIN,
MDCCXLIV.

CICERO AND MODERN THOUGHT

A LONG LEGACY

For some scholars, the Renaissance started when Petrarch discovered Cicero's letters to Atticus in 1345. Overjoyed with his find, Petrarch was one of the first to worship at the altar of Cicero, whose orations and defenses of liberty against tyranny would inspire generations of philosophers. Perhaps no generation would be as inspired as the Enlightenment thinkers, like John Locke, David Hume, or Montesquieu, who stated that "Cicero is, of all the ancients, the one who had the most personal merit, and whom I would most prefer to resemble." He was also a guiding light for the Founding Fathers who took Enlightenment ideals and put them into practice in North America. In 1744 Benjamin Franklin published *M. T. Cicero's* Cato Major, *or His Discourse of Old-Age*, the first classic work translated and printed in the colonies. Thomas Jefferson drew on Cicero's ideas when drafting the Declaration of Independence in 1776. John Adams idolized Cicero and his powerful words. In his 1787 *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America*, Adams cites Cicero's ideals as support for this new government: "As all the ages of the world have not produced a greater statesman and philosopher united than Cicero, his authority should have greater weight."

FOUNDING FATHERS' FAVORITE

Benjamin Franklin's 1744 edition of Cicero's "Cato Major" (above) was the first classic to be translated and printed in North America.

GRANGER COLLECTION/AGE FOTOSTOCK

the republic. There were two consuls who each served a one-year term. They held equal power as political and military heads of state. Consuls controlled the army, presided over the Senate, and proposed legislation. On paper, the Senate's job was to advise and consent, but because the body was made of roughly 600 elite and powerful patrician men, it gained much power and influence. Legislative authority rested with assemblies, most notably the Comitia Centuriata. Plebeians could belong to this body, whose powers included electing officials, enacting laws, and declarations of war and peace.

In the same year Cicero clinched the consulship, he exposed and defeated a rebellion led by a political opponent, Catiline. The plot called for assassinations and burning the city itself. Widely considered the best orator of his time, Cicero had attempted to warn Rome about Catiline's treasonous intentions through dramatic speeches in the Senate, but his pleas fell on deaf ears. After the plot had been exposed, Catiline escaped. Five of his conspirators were caught, however, and Cicero advocated for their immediate execution, without trial.

Most senators agreed with Cicero, with one major exception—Julius Caesar. He advocated for imprisoning the men, but his recommendation was overturned. The conspirators were executed, and Catiline died later, fighting alongside his men while making one last stand. The defeat of the Catiline conspiracy was a high mark for Cicero, whom his supporters proudly called *pater patriae*, father of the fatherland.

Julius Caesar and his patron, Marcus Licinius Crassus, were both formidably rich, and had each used their wealth to gain popular support over the course of their political careers. In the chaos that followed the conspiracy, Julius Caesar and

Defeating the Catilinarian conspiracy earned Cicero praise and the honorific *pater patriae*, father of the fatherland.

Crassus joined another general, Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, also known as Pompey, to take control of the government in 60 B.C. Announced when Caesar began his first consulship, the First Triumvirate would rule the republic for six years until the death of Crassus in 53.

At first Cicero refused to support the triumvirate and fled from Rome. In 57, with Pompey's backing, he returned to the city and tried to persuade Pompey to break his alliance with Caesar. Pompey refused. Cicero begrudgingly gave the triumvirate his approval despite recognizing that the triumvirate was unstable; each of the three men wanted to increase his own power while keeping his two other "allies" in check. No one in the First Triumvirate would be the champion for the republic for whom Cicero hoped.

Disgusted by this turn of events, Cicero left politics for a few years. During this time, he penned some of his most influential works before returning to office in 51 B.C. He accepted the governorship of Cilicia, a province located in present-day Turkey, and then returned to Rome in late 50. Crassus' death in 53 had increased hostility between Julius Caesar and Pompey, who were headed toward an unavoidable confrontation that would explode into civil war in 49 B.C.

FIGHTING WORDS

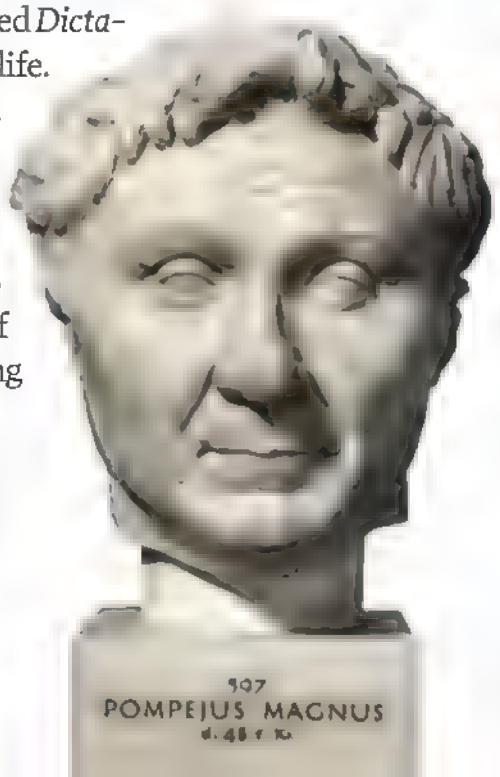
Depicted in a fresco by Cesare Maccari (above), Cicero denounces the Catilinarian conspiracy in the Roman Senate. Palazzo Madama, Rome

ORONOZ/ALBUM

The Republic Falls

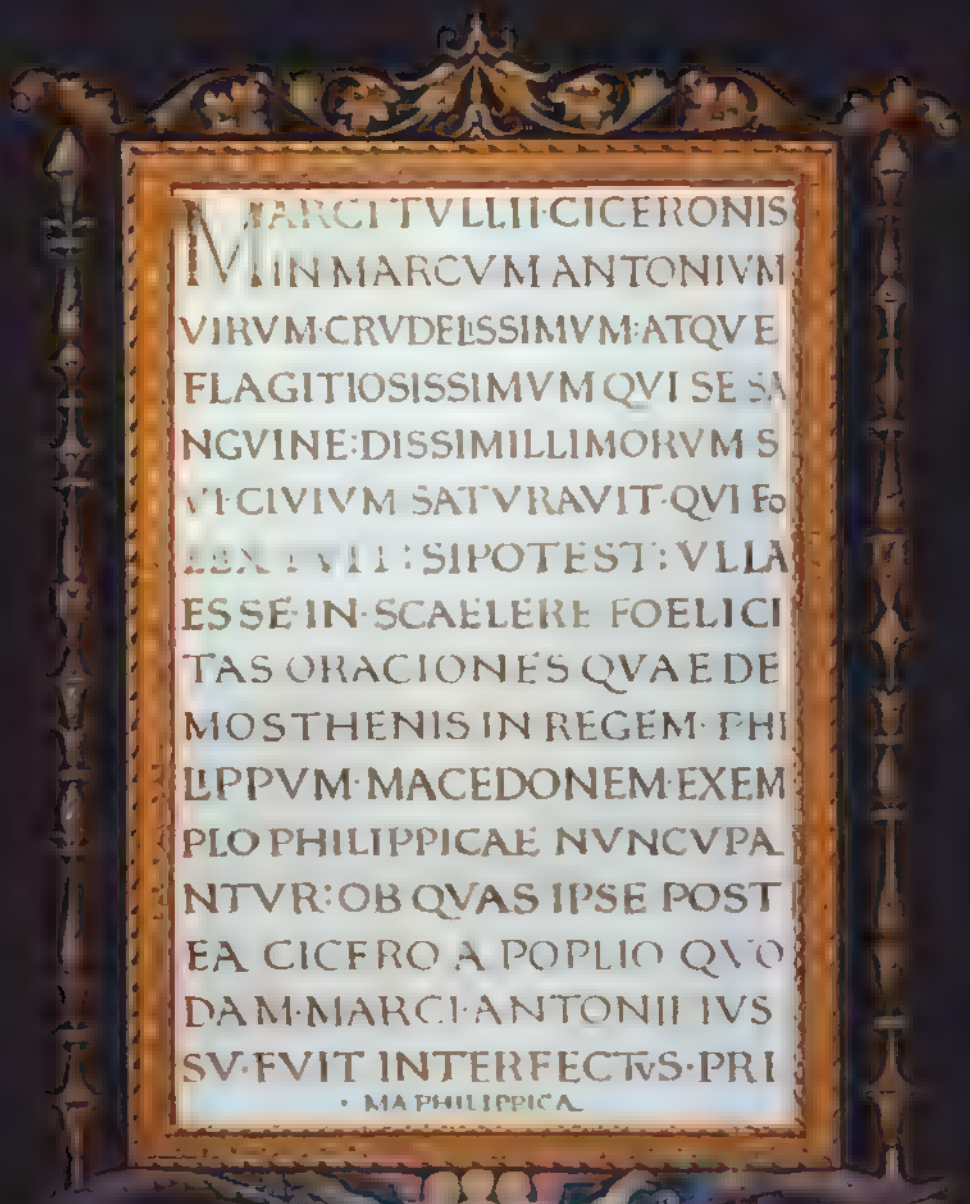
Striving for control of Rome, neither Caesar nor Pompey wanted Cicero for an enemy, and both men appealed to him for his allegiance. Cicero chose to side with Pompey. Rome's civil war lasted five years, and Caesar emerged victorious. In 46 B.C. Caesar was declared *Dictator perpetuo*, dictator for life.

Despite siding with Pompey, Cicero was pardoned by Caesar, who allowed him to return to Rome. Cicero began another period of intensive writing, creating



POMPEY THE GREAT. MARBLE COPY OF A BRONZE STATUE THAT ONCE STOOD IN THE THEATER OF POMPEY, UNDER WHICH CAESAR WAS MURDERED. NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK, COPENHAGEN

AKG/ALBUM



KING FERDINAND I OF NAPLES COMMISSIONED THIS 15TH-CENTURY COPY (ABOVE) OF CICERO'S PHILIPPIC ORATIONS.

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

BITTER ROWS

CICERO VERSUS MARK ANTONY

Cicero unleashed all his rhetorical forces against Mark Antony in the form of 14 written speeches that he entitled Philippics. This name alludes to the speeches made by the Athenian orator Demosthenes against another "tyrant," Philip II of Macedon, when he looked set to conquer Greece in the fourth century B.C. The second of the Philippics is scathing. In closing the speech, Cicero proclaims that despite knowing the risks, he is determined to fight for liberty as he had done years previously when the senator Catiline had attempted to bring down the Senate. "Consider, I beg you, Marcus Antonius, do some time or other consider the republic: think of the family of which you are born, not of the men with whom you are living. Be reconciled to the republic. However, do you decide on your conduct. As to mine, I myself will declare what that shall be. I defended the republic as a young man, I will not abandon it now that I am old. I scorned the sword of Catiline, I will not quail before yours. No, I will rather cheerfully expose my own person, if the liberty of the city can be restored by my death."

many works defending republican values. During this time, a group of conspirators decided to take a more proactive stance against Caesar's ambition. Although the plotters were close associates of Cicero—including Marcus Brutus whom Cicero had mentored—they kept their plans secret from the great orator.

Cicero was not involved in Caesar's assassination during the Ides of March in 44 B.C. In his writings he expressed horror at the violence but supported the actions of the assassins:

> Our tyrant deserved his death for having made an exception of the one thing that was the blackest crime of all . . . here you have a man who was ambitious to be king of the Roman People and master of the whole world; and he achieved it! The man who maintains that such an ambition is morally right is a madman, for he justifies the destruction of law and liberty and thinks their hideous and detestable suppression glorious.

ET TU, BRUTE?
Brutus, depicted in a second-century A.D. bust (below), was a close ally of Cicero but did not involve the statesman in the assassination. Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

SCALA, FLORENCE

Although he could probably not have brought himself to commit the violent act himself, he wrote: "All honest men killed Caesar . . . some lacked design, some courage, some opportunity: none lacked the will." He was hopeful that by removing the ambitious Caesar, Rome could set itself back on the path to a republic. A few days after the murder, he advocated amnesty for the assassins in the Senate.

Rise of Antony

The wake of Caesar's death left Cicero and Antony standing as the two main powers in Rome. Cicero had the backing of the Senate, but Antony had the power of Caesar's legacy. To take advantage of his position, Antony orchestrated a spectacular funeral for the fallen leader. His stirring eulogy roused the passions of the crowd and turned public opinion against the assassins. Fearing for his life, Brutus fled from Rome. Cicero also left the city and bewailed ever more bitterly the inactivity of "our heroes" the conspirators, who, in his view, had not acted swiftly enough.

Cicero remained convinced that he had a part to play in the survival of the republic. He knew that his close political associations with Brutus and other conspirators would hurt his cause, so he needed a strong political ally to counter that factor. He thought he had found just the person—a youth of 18, who was in the early days of what would turn out to be an impressive career.

That young man was Octavian, a great-nephew of Julius Caesar. Caesar had named Octavian as his heir in his will. Octavian received news of Caesar's death while in Apollonia (in modern-day Albania), and at once set out for Rome. He arrived in April and attempted to gain the trust of the veterans of Caesar's legions and of influential figures like Cicero. He convinced Cicero to return to Rome, and the elder statesman was extremely flattered to have Octavian "totally devoted to me." He became convinced that an alliance with Octavian might help to destroy Antony's political aspirations. Cicero was encouraged to observe later in Rome, Octavian presented himself, unaccompanied by Antony, to the veterans of two legions and reiterated their rights. Cicero wrote, with misplaced optimism, to his friend Atticus: "This lad has landed a heavy blow to Mark Antony."

Beginning in September and continuing into the spring of 43, Cicero delivered scathing speeches against Antony in the Senate that fanned outrage against him. These 14 orations were called the Philippics because they were modeled after warnings that the Athenian Demosthenes delivered about Philip of Macedon in the fourth century B.C. Perhaps harkening back to his famed orations against Catiline, Cicero argued for the restoration of the republic, advocated for Octavian, and framed Antony as a tyrant. Eventually the new consuls declared war

CICERO'S FINEST HOUR

It was in the Forum (above) that Cicero addressed the people of Rome in 63 B.C., congratulating them for the defeat of Catiline's plans to topple the republic and establish a dictatorship.

MASSIMO R. PANI/FOTOTECA 9X12

> "All honest men killed Caesar . . . some lacked design, some courage, some opportunity: None lacked the will." —Cicero

CICERO'S DISAPPOINTMENT

MISSED OPPORTUNITY

In his correspondence, Cicero criticizes Brutus for letting Mark Antony take the initiative after the death of Julius Caesar. He believes that the subsequent power struggle is a consequence of the conspirators' lack of determination. He writes to his friend Atticus: "Do you remember me crying out on that first day on the Capitol that the Senate should be summoned to the Capitol by the Praetors [Brutus and Cassius]? Immortal gods! What could have been effected then to the rejoicing of all good men . . . Do you remember how you cried out that the cause was lost if he had a state funeral. But he was even cremated in the forum and given a pathetic eulogy, and slaves and paupers were sent against our houses with torches." Brutus also receives a reproachful letter from the orator: "I can in no sense admit the justice of the distinction you draw, when you say that more vigor should be used in preventing civil wars, than in wreaking vengeance against the vanquished. I strongly differ from you Brutus . . . You will be crushed, believe me Brutus, unless you take proper precautions."

ON THE ROSTRA

Orators would address the public from this platform known as the *rostra* (rostrum) beside the Temple of Saturn in the Roman Forum. It was here that Mark Antony displayed the severed head and right hand of Cicero

SCALA, FLORENCE

on Antony, who was away besieging the city of Mutina (modern-day Modena) where one of Caesar's assassins was holding out.

Octavian and Rome's two sitting consuls, Gaius Vibius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, led the Senate's forces against Antony in April 43. After Pansa's death in battle, they were able to secure a decisive victory against Antony. When news of the victories reached Rome there was jubilation in the Senate. Cicero, the man of the hour, was borne in triumph from his home on Capitoline Hill to the Forum. There he mounted the rostrum and delivered an exultant address to the people of Rome.

Cicero's joy was short-lived. Antony managed to salvage a sector of his legions. Octavian, instead of pursuing Antony, decided to claim the vacant consulship for himself. When the Senate refused, Octavian lost no time in crossing the Rubicon—as Julius Caesar had before him—and marched on Rome with his legions. The senators were powerless to resist, and had to give in to his demands. Cicero saw how his trust had been misplaced, as his alleged protégé used the power of his troops to trample the rule of law. Historians believe the relationship between the two started to sour after Octavian found out that Cicero wrote that "the boy [Octavian] must be praised, honored, and removed."

◀ **A SILVER CISTOPHORUS,** MINTED IN EPHESUS IN 40 B.C. TO COMMEMORATE THE WEDDING OF MARK ANTONY TO OCTAVIA, THE SISTER OF OCTAVIAN. BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

SCALA, FLORENCE

Death of an Orator

Devastated that the republican cause was now lost, Cicero withdrew from Rome to spend time in his rural retreats in southern Italy. From there he looked on powerlessly as Octavian, reconciled with Antony, eventually formed the Second Triumvirate with him and Lepidus. Not only did Cicero feel this was a step backward politically, it also posed a serious personal threat to his life. The triumvirs put together a long list of senators

A BRUTAL END

"The Death of Cicero" by François Perrier (above) recreates the moment when Cicero was intercepted by two of Mark Antony's soldiers before the orator lost his life. 17th century. Bad Homburg, Staatliche

AKG/ALBUM

and other citizens who should be "proscribed," or condemned to die. The vengeful Antony managed to include Cicero's name, despite Octavian's initial reluctance.

Cicero was at his villa in Tusculum with his brother Quintus when he found out that they were both on the "hit list." Fearing for their lives, they left for the villa in Astura, from there intending to sail to Macedonia and be reunited with Marcus Brutus. But at one point, Quintus retraced his steps in order to pick up provisions for the journey. Betrayed by his slaves, Quintus was killed a few days later along with his son.

Cicero, by now in Astura, was wracked with fear and doubt as to what he should do. He set off by boat but after just a few miles he amazed everyone by disembarking and walking toward Rome in order to return to his Astura villa and from there be taken by sea to his villa at Formiae. There, he planned to rest and gather his strength before the final push onward to Greece.

Too hesitant. Too late. Realizing that Antony's soldiers were about to catch up with him, Cicero headed through the forest toward the port of Gaeta from where he hoped to escape. The soldiers, led by Herennius, a centurion, and Popilius, a tribune, who had once been prosecuted for parricide and defended by Cicero, found his villa already abandoned but a slave called Philologus showed them which way Cicero had gone. They had no trouble catching up with him and performing their murderous deed.

Antony ordered that the severed head and right hand be displayed as trophies on the rostrum in the Forum so that all Rome could contemplate them. The rostrum was the very platform from which Cicero had been acclaimed by the crowds for his oratory. The force of arms had prevailed over the power of words.

JOSÉ MIGUEL BAÑOS IS PROFESSOR OF LATIN AT THE COMPLUTENSE UNIVERSITY IN MADRID.

Learn more

SPQR: A History of Ancient Rome
Mary Beard, Liveright, 2016

Cicero: The Life and Times of Rome's Greatest Politician
Anthony Everitt, Random House, 2003

FULVIA'S FURY

According to Roman statesman and historian Dio Cassius, Fulvia loathed Cicero—and with good reason. Cicero had wronged not just one, but two of her three husbands. Clodius, Fulvia's first husband, was a political rival of Cicero, and was accused by Cicero of licentiousness and sexual infidelities. After Clodius was killed in 52 B.C. by Milo, a political rival, Cicero defended the accused murderer. Cicero's defense became famous, despite Milo being sent into exile for his crime. After the death of Fulvia's second husband in 49 B.C., she married Mark Antony several years later. Cicero was openly hostile toward Antony, depicting him as an ambitious tyrant while earning more of Fulvia's wrath. After Cicero's death, Dio Cassius reported that Fulvia seized Cicero's head, which had been removed from his body, and "after abusing it spitefully and spitting upon it, set it on her knees, opened the mouth, and pulled out the tongue, which she pierced with the pins that she used for her hair, at the same time uttering many brutal jests." Ancient historians were often prone to colorful exaggeration, and Dio Cassius' account may have been no exception. The one thing that rings true is Fulvia's removal of Cicero's tongue, his most powerful weapon of all.

"THE RAGE OF FULVIA," A 1692 PAINTING BY GREGORIO LAZZARINI, DEPICTS FULVIA WITH CICERO'S SEVERED HEAD. OLD MASTERS PICTURE GALLERY, KASSEL, GERMANY

BPK/SCALA, FLORENCE

DEEP ROOTS
English painter Edmund George Warren's 1859 painting of Robin Hood and his Merry Men in Sherwood Forest. The outlaws gathered in the greenwood under the great tree reflect a set of idealized symbols of old England many centuries in the making.

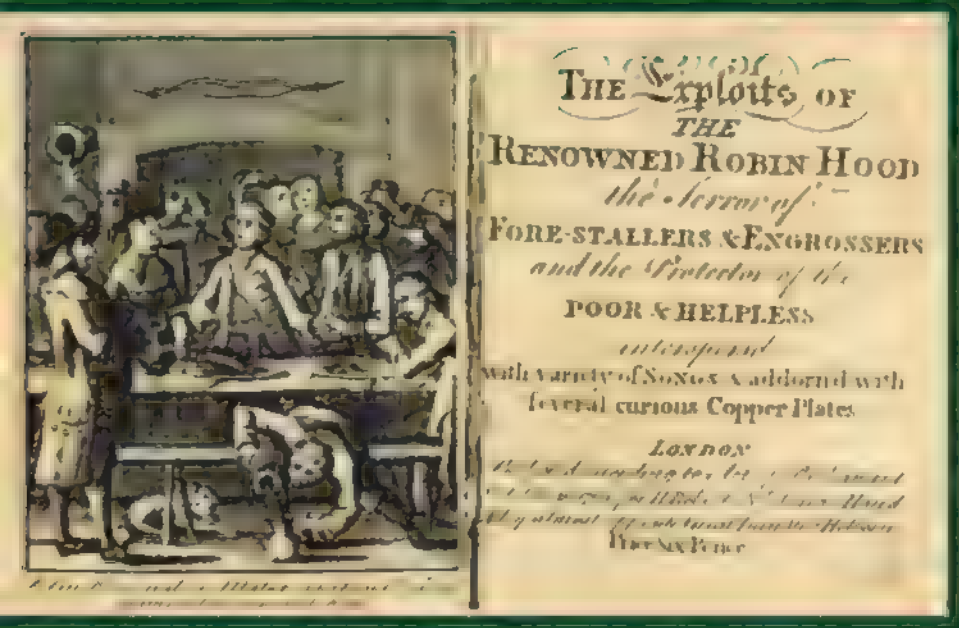
CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/SCALA, FLORENCE

England's Enduring Outlaw

THE REAL ROBIN HOOD

JUST AS CAPTURING ROBIN HOOD FRUSTRATES THE SHERIFF OF NOTTINGHAM, PINNING DOWN THE ORIGINS OF A FOLK HERO CHALLENGES SCHOLARS. APPEARING IN BALLADS, POETRY, AND FOLK TALES, THE PRINCE OF THIEVES TOOK ON NEW GUISES AND FORMS AS HE CHANGED WITH THE TIMES.

J. RUBÉN VALDÉS MIYARES



MERRY MEN

As Robin Hood's fame grew, so did his supporting cast, depicted (right) in sketches created in the 20th century. Not all were added at the same time—Little John appears in the earliest ballads while Maid Marian begins to appear in the 1500s. As more characters are added, the blend of costume, romance, and pageantry helped the tale become a deep part of popular culture.

Robin

From the outset, Robin Hood was depicted as a rebel who pitted himself against authority. Even so, the idea that he stole from the rich to give to the poor only becomes a character trait from the 16th century onward.

Little John

The name of Robin's deputy in the ballads was ironic as he is a notably brawny man. He saves his leader's life on more than one occasion. He is one of Robin's earliest companions and appears in many of the oldest ballads.

BOOKS OF BALLADS

Published in 1769, *The Exploits of the Renowned Robin Hood* (above) tried to trace the lineage of Robin Hood and included prose stories as well as ballads about the outlaw and his band.

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

Stealing from the rich to give to the poor, Robin Hood and his Merry Men are a permanent part of popular culture. Set in England during the reign of King Richard the Lionheart, the adventures of Robin Hood follow the noble thief as he woos the beautiful Maid Marian and thwarts the evil Sheriff of Nottingham. The story has been around for centuries, but its most familiar elements are also the most recent additions.

Like the roots of Sherwood Forest, the origins of the Robin Hood story extend deep into English history. His name can be found all over the English map: Robin Hood's Cave and Robin Hood's Stoop in Derbyshire; Robin Hood's Well in Barnsdale Forest, Yorkshire; and Robin Hood's Bay, also in Yorkshire. When the story is traced back to its 14th-century beginnings, the figure of Robin Hood changes with time. The earliest versions would be almost unrecognizable when compared to the green-clad, bow-wielding Robin Hood of today. As the centuries passed, the tale of Robin Hood evolved as England evolved. With each new iteration, the Robin Hood legend would absorb new characters, settings, and traits—evolving into the familiar legend of today.

LONG LIVE ROBIN HOOD!

EARLY 1300s

The legend of **Fulk III FitzWarin,** a rebel against the 13th-century King John emerges, a possible model for the Robin Hood tales, which are emerging at this time in oral form.

SEAL OF KING JOHN OF ENGLAND, 1200. NATIONAL ARCHIVES, PAR 5

BRIDGEMAN/AC

CIRCA 1377

William Langland's ***Vision of Piers Plowman*** includes the first known literary reference to Robin Hood. Social tensions between rich and poor will burst into the open with the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.

Maid Marian

Starting in the 16th century, Marian appears in Robin Hood ballads, although she already existed as a figure in English folklore. In one 17th-century ballad, she disguises herself as a boy, fights Robin, and then reveals her true identity to him.

Friar Tuck

Presented as a friar expelled from his order for his love of wine, he first appears in a Robin Hood ballad in 1475. Growing out of the stock medieval figure of the corrupt cleric, he later became a popular character in England's annual May games.

Will Scarlet

Also known by the nickname Scathelock or Scadlock, Will Scarlet figures in the oldest ballads about Robin Hood. Despite his pedigree, Will rarely appeared in May games, probably because he did not have a clearly defined character.

Sheriff of Nottingham

"Sheriff" is from the Old English *scirgerefa,* meaning "representative of royal authority in an shire." As Robin's nemesis, he is a constant presence in the story from the earliest ballads to the recent film adaptations of the tale.

ILLUSTRATIONS: ALAMY/ACI. COLORED: SANTI PÉREZ

The First Robins

In 19th-century England numerous scholars embarked on a search for Robin Hood after the publication of Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* in 1820. Set in 1194, Scott's novel takes place in England during the Crusades. One of the featured characters is Locksley, who is revealed to be Robin Hood, the "King of Outlaws, and Prince of good fellows." Scott portrayed Robin as an honorable Englishman loyal to the absent King Richard; this popular characterization renewed modern interest in the figure of Robin Hood and the question of whether or not this "King of Outlaws" was based on a real person.

Historian and archivist Joseph Hunter discovered that many different Robin Hoods dotted the history of medieval England, often with variant spellings. One of the oldest references he found is in a 1226 court register from Yorkshire, England. It cites the expropriation of the property of one Robin Hood, described as a fugitive. In 1262, in southern England, there is a similar mention of a man called William Robehod in Berkshire. The previous year there had been a reference to "William, son of Robert le Fevere member of a band of outlaws"—believed to be the same person. In 1354, farther north in Northamptonshire, there is a record of

AN OUTLAW'S GEOGRAPHY

The ballads name two English forests as Robin's haunt—Sherwood and Barnsdale (below). Other locations across England appear in the legend's history, strengthening its English pedigree.

MAP: EOSGIS.COM

1450

An early ballad about the outlaw finds its way into print. **"Robin Hood and the Monk"** portrays the archer and his men as brutal tricksters hiding out in Sherwood Forest.

1598

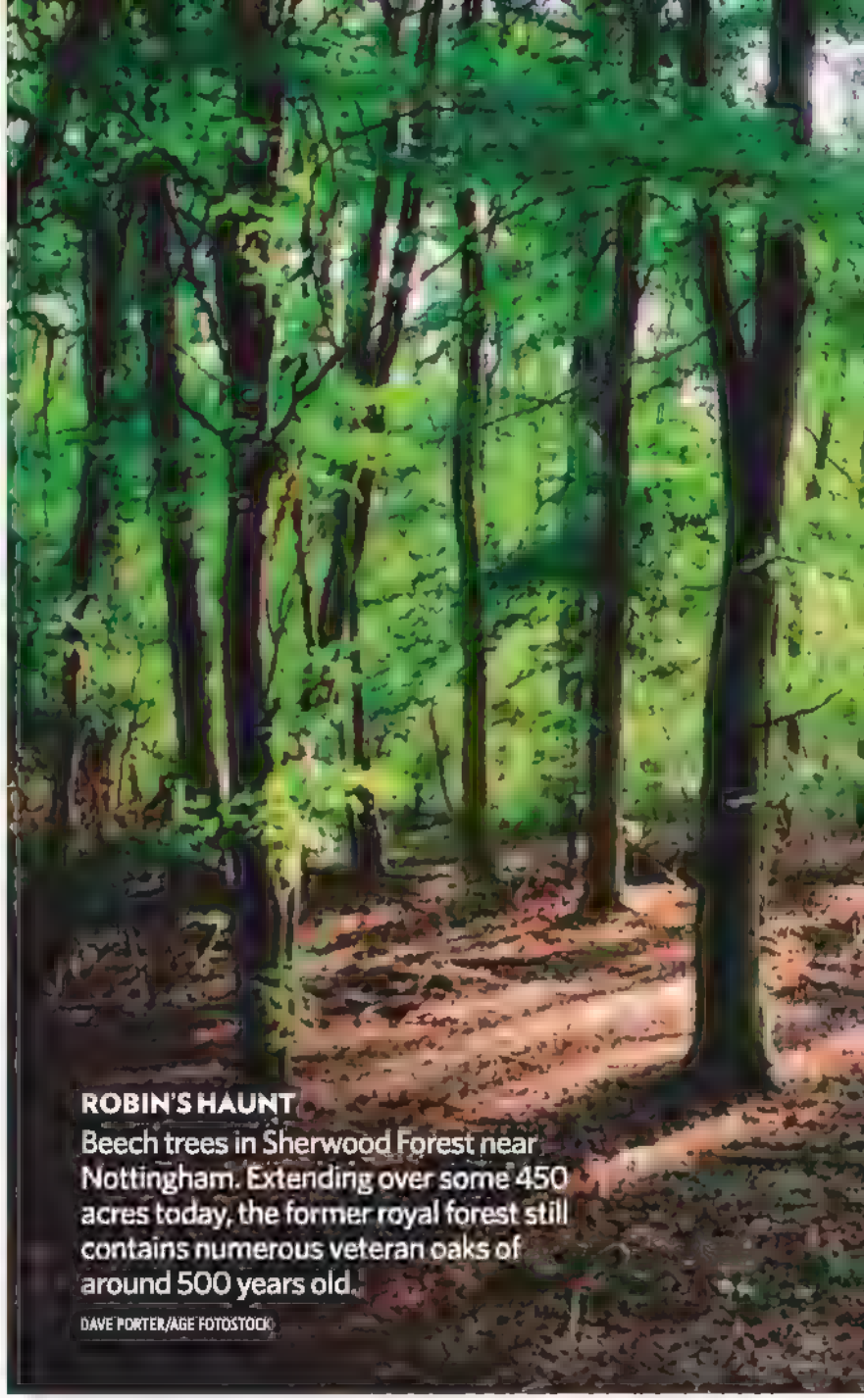
Elizabethan playwright **Anthony Munday** publishes two plays about Robin Hood in which the former outlaw is now ennobled as the Earl of Huntington, a chivalrous courtier, loyal to his king.

1820

Walter Scott's novel ***Ivanhoe*** exalts Robin as a good and decent symbol of England. His reworking will greatly influence later versions of the story.

A FOREST DEER HUNT IN A 14TH-CENTURY MINIATURE FROM THE *LIVRE DE CHASSE*, A HUNTING MANUAL WRITTEN BY GASTON PHÉBUS, COUNT OF FOIX, IN MODERN-DAY FRANCE.

AKG/ALBUM



ROBIN'S HAUNT
Beech trees in Sherwood Forest near Nottingham. Extending over some 450 acres today, the former royal forest still contains numerous veteran oaks of around 500 years old.

DAVE PORTER/AGE FOTOSTOCK

THE REAL SHERWOOD FOREST

ACCORDING TO THE BALLADS, the place where most of the adventures took place was not Sherwood Forest. It was Barnsdale Forest, which is in South Yorkshire, England. Over time, the legend became more closely associated with Sherwood, a forest lying to the north of the city of Nottingham and belonging to the king, whose sheriff was Robin's great enemy. In the Middle Ages the area then known as Shirewood (County Forest) underwent substantial deforestation and the dense oak and beech became interspersed with grassland, heather, and villages. But what defined the forest went beyond the trees and extended to the laws governing it. These laws, which were tightened following the Norman conquest of England in 1066, included extreme penalties for cutting down trees or hunting the king's deer. The forest was a prime royal hunting ground, and locals were being shut out, which led to the unpopularity of the forest laws among large portions of society. Because the lands were protected from clear-cutting, the woods remained a wild place, making it the perfect setting where outlaws could hide and adventures could be spun.

an imprisoned man named "Robin Hood" who was awaiting trial. Because Hunter and other 19th-century historians discovered many different records attached to the name Robin Hood, most scholars came to agree that there was probably no single person in the historical record who inspired the popular stories. Instead, the moniker seems to have become a typical alias used by outlaws in various periods and locations across England.

A Popular Hero

When historical records failed to yield a definitive personage behind the noble outlaw, scholars than turned to the popular culture of medieval England: folklore, poetry, and ballads. These three formats all grew out of an oral tradition. Some theorize that they originally derived from troubadours' songs that reported news and events.

The first known reference in English verse to Robin Hood is found in *The Vision of Piers Plowman,* written by William Langland in the second part of the 14th century (shortly before

Geoffrey Chaucer wrote *The Canterbury Tales*). In Langland's work a poorly educated parson repents and confesses that he is ignorant of Latin:

I kan noght parfitly my Paternoster as the preest it syngeth,
But I kan rymes of Robyn Hood . . .

The Middle English translates roughly to "Although I can't recite the Lord's Prayer (Paternoster), I do know the rhymes of Robin Hood." Putting Robin Hood's name in an uneducated character's mouth demonstrates that the legend would have been well known to most commoners, regardless of whether they could read or write.

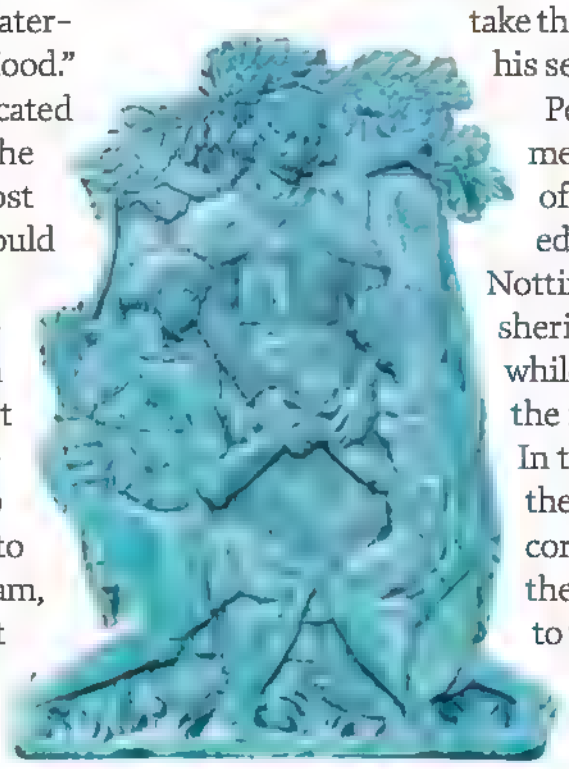
By the 15th century the Robin Hood legend took on its first trappings of rebellion against the ruling class. One of the oldest known written ballads about the forest outlaw, "Robin Hood and the Monk," dates to around this time. It is the only early ballad to be set in Sherwood Forest near Nottingham, and it features Little John, one of the best known members of the band of Merry Men. In the tale Robin Hood ignores the advice of Little John and leaves the safety of the forest. He travels to Nottingham to attend Mass and pray to the Virgin Mary. At church Robin is recognized by a monk who turns him over to the sheriff. The monk then sets off to tell the king of the outlaw's capture, but before he can arrive, Little John and Much, another of Robin's men, overtake the monk on the road and murder him and his servant.

Posing as the monk and his page, Robin's men deceive the king. They deliver the news of Robin's capture to him and are rewarded with money and titles. They return to Nottingham and free Robin from prison. The sheriff is humiliated but survives the story, while Robin, Little John, and Much return to the forest with the forgiveness of the king. In this story the monk—not the sheriff or the king—is the true villain. The monk is a corrupt figure who violates the sanctity of the church by betraying Robin's presence to the sheriff.

ROYAL BLESSING

A relief (below) from Nottingham Castle shows Richard the Lionheart joining the hands of Robin Hood and Maid Marian in marriage.

C. HOGG NS/AGE FOTOSTOCK



ROBIN HOOD IN A COLORED ENGRAVING FROM CIRCA 1600

AKG/A.BUM

ANOTHER ADVERSARY

THE SHERIFF OF NOTTINGHAM is not Robin Hood's only enemy in the medieval tales. Sir Guy of Gisborne plays the part of the villain in many Robin Hood stories. Originating around the 15th century, *Robin Hood and Guy de Gisborne* describes an encounter with Sir Guy in the forest of Barnsdale. Not recognizing Robin, Sir Guy asks him for directions through the wood and tells him he is hunting for the outlaw Robin Hood. Traveling with Sir Guy, Robin suggests that they have an archery contest. Robin bests Sir Guy before revealing his true identity to him. The two men brandish knives and fight. Robin kills his adversary, sticks his severed head on the end of his bow, and disfigures the face with his knife. "There you stay, good Sir Guy," he says, and then he disguises the dead man's body in his own clothes of green.

This version of the legend visits extreme violence on the villain, delivered by Little John and Much. The killing of the monk is justified because of his corruption, while the death of the monk's page, to avoid leaving a witness, is also accepted, despite the page's innocence. Later versions of Robin Hood stories would move away from these deaths that appear as collateral damage, but medieval audiences did not seem overly troubled by them.

Medieval crime and punishment often centered around brutality and violence. Kings, lords, and their representatives used it often to punish rebellious peasants. Bodies hanging from the gallows or displayed as a warning at crossroads were familiar sights during this time. These early Robin Hood ballads begin to show a turning of the tables, in which the lower classes are able to punish the upper classes through trickery and violence.

In the 15th century more ballads about Robin Hood spread across England. One of the longest, *A Gest of Robyn Hode*, originates during this time. In this work is one of the first iterations of Robin Hood's edict of stealing from the rich to give to the poor. In the poem Robin says, "If he be a pore man, Of my good he shall have some."

In these tales Robin belonged to the lower classes and was considered a yeoman. The medieval English ballads use this term to describe a status higher than a peasant but lower than a knight. In its original sense "yeoman" meant a young male servant, applied to servants of standing within a noble house. In the *Gest* Robin is depicted as a Yeoman of the King who, despite his privileged position, misses the forest and so chooses to abandon the court.

Robin Hood takes on a role as an administrator of justice for the underclass in the *Gest*. When Little John consults his leader for guidance on whom to beat, rob, and kill, Robin Hood provides him with a code divided along the lines of rich and poor. No peasants, yeomen, and virtuous squires were to be harmed. On the other hand, the Merry Men were

FAMILIAR SIGHTS

Five hanged men in a detail (below) from Antoine Vérard's 1493 illuminated manuscript, *Grandes Chroniques de France*. The prevalence of executions and brutality in medieval Europe seeped into the ballads and poems of the times.

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

allowed to "beat and bind" bishops, archbishops, and, above all, the loathed Sheriff of Nottingham. In the *Gest* the type of villains has widened to include more figures at odds with the lower classes.

The Robin Hood legend also takes a bloodier turn than in previous versions as vengeance is delivered to villains. In the *Gest* Robin shoots the sheriff with an arrow and then slits his throat with a sword. In a 15th-century manuscript of *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne*, Robin is not content with just killing his opponent, Guy. He also mutilates the corpse with a knife, a deed he carries out with considerable relish.

Scholars sometimes explain these recurring themes of duping and punishing corrupt people in power as reflecting a struggle between dispossessed Saxons of the countryside and the powerful Norman rulers in the cities. In the centuries when the Robin Hood legend was taking shape, the English government was beset by a number of crises that upended the social order. A civil war in the 12th century, later known as the Anarchy, led to a catastrophic breakdown in law and order. In the 14th century the Black Death and Hundred Years' War with France placed a huge burden on the lower classes, who, in 1381, launched the Peasants' Revolt.

A Class Act

In the 16th century Robin Hood lost some of his dangerous edge as he and his men were absorbed into celebrations of May Day. Every spring, the English would herald in the spring with a festival that often featured athletic contests as well as electing the kings and queens of May. As part of the fun, participants would dress up in costume as Robin Hood and his men to attend the revels and the games.

It is during this period that Robin Hood also became fashionable among the royalty and even associated with nobility. One story from 1510 claims that Henry VIII of England, then barely 18, dressed up like Robin Hood and burst into the bedchamber of his new wife, Catherine of Aragon. There, accompanied by his noblemen, he entertained the queen and ladies-in-waiting with his exuberant dancing and high jinks. In

LEGENDS IN THE LANDSCAPE

The permeation of the Robin Hood story throughout English folk culture is reflected in the numerous landmarks bearing his name across the country, such as Robin Hood's Cave in Derbyshire (above), where the bandit is said to have sheltered.

CHRIS HERRING/AGE FOTOSTOCK

ERROL FLYNN AND OLIVIA DE HAVILLAND IN A PUBLICITY STILL FOR THE 1938 TECHNICOLOR MOVIE *THE ADVENTURES OF ROBIN HOOD*

IMAGE/GETTY IMAGES

BANDITS ON THE BIG SCREEN

THE ROBIN HOOD LEGEND was a perfect fit for the silver screen in the 20th century, when more than 40 films were shot featuring the noble outlaw with a heart of gold. His most iconic moment on film came in the 1938 Technicolor movie *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, the Warner Bros. classic packed with sword fights and medieval costumes. Errol Flynn's Robin is an impoverished nobleman and honest-speaking Saxon "cockerel," chafing under the taxes of corrupt Prince John and Guy of Gisborne—who is wooing the beautiful Marian, played by Olivia de Havilland. Closely modeled on the novelist Walter Scott's version of the noble Sherwood Forest outlaw, Robin takes on the prince and the greedy Norman barons in a guerrilla war, redistributing wealth from the rich to win over both the poor of Nottinghamshire and the heart of Lady Marian. Unlike medieval versions of the story, which revel in rebelling against royal authority, Flynn's Robin is no anarchist; he fights against corruption. The illegitimate ruler Prince John must be humbled by Robin to make way for the return of the king, Richard the Lionheart. Robin emerges as a noble outlaw, rising above the feuds of Norman-versus-Saxon to declare: "It's injustice I hate, not the Normans."

1516 King Henry VIII and Queen Catherine took part in May Day festivities. Two hundred of the king's men dressed in green and one dressed as Robin Hood led the monarchs to a feast.

Several more characters begin to appear in the Robin Hood stories at this point. One is Maid Marian, and the other is Friar Tuck. The two enter into the legend at around the same time. Like Robin Hood, these two were also popular figures at the May games, and they begin appearing in literary works as well.

One of Friar Tuck's earliest appearances is in the play *Robyn Hod and the Sheryff off Notyngham*, which dates to approximately the late 15th century. His popularity grew in the coming years, and he appeared more frequently in later works, such as *Robin Hood and the Friar* from the 1560s. This work features an episode where the monk bests Robin Hood and tosses him in a stream.

In the Elizabethan era Robin Hood became a popular presence in plays staged for the upper classes. Several playwrights, such as William Shakespeare, featured him in their works. Most notable was Anthony Munday, who wrote two

THE RETURN OF THE KING
An 1839 painting by Daniel Maclise (above) shows Robin Hood and his Merry Men entertaining Richard the Lionheart in Sherwood Forest on his return from captivity and the Crusades. Nottingham City Museums and Galleries
BRIDGEMAN/AC

plays centered around Robin Hood. Munday reinvents the outlaw as an aristocrat: Robert, Earl of Huntington, whose uncle disinherits him. Robert flees to the forest where he becomes Robin Hood. There he meets Maid Marian, and the two fall in love. No longer was Robin Hood a yeoman; he had been gentrified for new audiences.

Munday sets his works during the reign of Richard I, the Lionheart. The king has left England to fight in the Holy Land, and his younger brother John rules in his stead. Although Munday's Robin Hood plays are regarded by modern critics as poorly constructed and a bit dull (most of the action had to be written out to avoid censorship), their influence has been considerable. Setting the tale during King Richard I's reign became popular with other authors when they interpreted the legend for themselves. Munday's decision to make Robin Hood a nobleman also recurred in later tellings.

For the Ages

Drawing on the medieval foundations, authors would continue to reinvent Robin Hood for their own times over the centuries. Walter Scott repackaged Robin Hood for *Ivanhoe* in the 19th century, while Howard Pyle most famously re-created the legend for a children's book, *The Merry Adventures of Robin Hood of Great Renown in Nottinghamshire,* in 1883. Pyle's work gained a new audience for Robin Hood in the United States, which seemed to hunger for more tales of the Prince of Thieves in years to come. In 1917 author Paul Creswick teamed up with notable illustrator N. C. Wyeth to create a colorful Robin Hood, one of the most visually striking renditions of the tale.

In the early 20th century Robin Hood migrated from the page to the cinema, and the tale was reinvented and retold time and again with stars like Douglas Fairbanks, Errol Flynn, Sean Connery, and Daffy Duck all taking their turn in the lead role. In each version, glimmers of the original ballads and poems remain visible as each new version adds more to the legend of the Prince of Thieves.

J. RUBÉN VALDÉS MIYARES TEACHES CULTURAL STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OVIEDO, SPAIN.

IN LIVING COLOR

A Gest of Robyn Hode, a popular ballad about the outlaw, began being printed in the 15th and 16th centuries. Many of its events show up in later tellings of Robin Hood, such as the 1917 work written by Paul Creswick and illustrated by N. C. Wyeth, whose vivid artworks, reproduced here, brought Robin Hood to life.

LITTLE JOHN AND THE COOK

In an archery contest, Little John impresses the Sheriff of Nottingham with his skills. The Sheriff then hires him as a servant for 12 months. One day, Little John is hungry. He gets rid of the butler, heads for the pantry, kicks down the door, and begins to eat and drink his fill.

He sporned the dore with his fote [foot];
It went open wel and fyne;
And there he made large lyveray [livery],
Bothe of ale and of wyne.

"Wait, listen, gentle fellows, what we have here now of Little John,

THE SHERIFF FALLS FOR THEIR TRICK

Some time later, Little John bumps into the Sheriff and invites him to dine on venison in the forest. Robin Hood serves up the dinner on the Sheriff's stolen plates and then pretends to hold him captive.

Sone he was to souper sette [supper sat],
And served well with silver white,
And when the sherif sawe his vessell[s],
For sorowe he myght nat ete.

. . . . . .

Whan they had soupëd well,
The day was al gone;
Robyn commaunded Lytell Johnn
To drawe [remove] his hosen and his shone [shoes]

LEFT TO RIGHT: GRANGER/AURIMAGES. BRIDGEMAN/AC **ARROWS.** GARY OMBLER/DK IMAGES. **BACKGROUND:** BRIDGEMAN/AC.

The Sheriff's cook arrives, scolds him for his gluttony, and springs upon him.

Lytell Johnn drew a ful gode sworde,
The coke [cook] took another in hande;
They thought no thynge for to fle[e],
But stifly for to stande.

They go out into the street and fight. Little John notes the cook's combat skills and invites him to join Robin Hood's band, promising him an annual salary of 20 marks.

After a celebratory feast the two men return together to plunder the Sheriff's treasury.

They toke away the silver vessell,
And all that thei might get;
Pecis [cups], masars [bowls], ne sponis [spoons],
Wolde [did] thei not forget.

Also they toke the godë pens [money],
Thre hundred pounde and more,
And did them streyte to Robyn Hode,
Under the grene wode hore

The Knight's servant, "Fifte verses you shall hear . . ."

His kirtell [tunic], and his cote of pie,
That was furred well and fine,
And toke hym a grene mantel,
To lap [wrap] his body therein.

. . . . . .

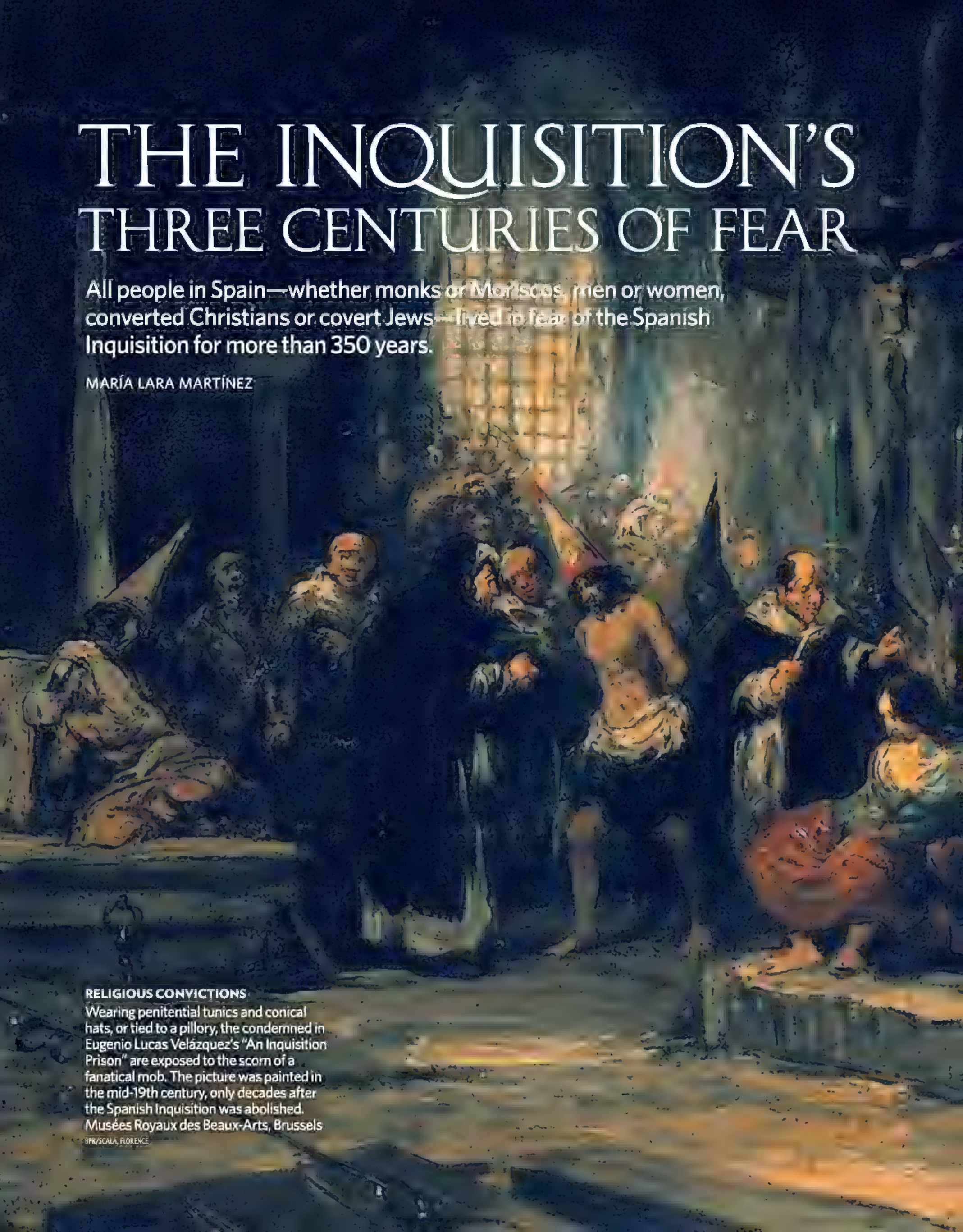
'All this twelve monthes,' sayde Robin,
'Thou shalt dwell with me;
I shall thee techë, proude sherif,
An outlawe for to be.'

The Sheriff is distraught, and Robin Hood, after having had his fun, decides to let him go. Before releasing him, Robin makes the Sheriff swear that he will never harm any member of the band.

THE INQUISITION'S THREE CENTURIES OF FEAR

All people in Spain—whether monks or Moriscos, men or women, converted Christians or covert Jews—lived in fear of the Spanish Inquisition for more than 350 years.

MARÍA LARA MARTÍNEZ



RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS
Wearing penitential tunics and conical hats, or tied to a pillory, the condemned in Eugenio Lucas Velázquez's "An Inquisition Prison" are exposed to the scorn of a fanatical mob. The picture was painted in the mid-19th century, only decades after the Spanish Inquisition was abolished. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels

BPK/SCALA, FLORENCE

BRIDGING FAITHS
A gate in the walls of Toledo in central Spain, leading to the 13th-century Bridge of San Martín. A medieval center for Jews, Christians, and Muslims, the city was the scene of intense persecution by the Inquisition, starting in the 16th century.

DOMINGO LEIVA/AGE FOTOSTOCK

Lasting more than 350 years, the Spanish Inquisition left behind a legacy of cruelty, intolerance, and inhumanity. The rulers of Spain arrested, tortured, and executed thousands of their own people in pursuit of power and national unity. The stories of the Inquisition's victims reveal a climate of fear and paranoia that took root in a time devoid of religious freedom.

The Inquisition's medieval origins can be traced back to the 12th century when Pope Lucius III instructed bishops to root out heresy in their dioceses. Across Europe, agents of the Inquisition had the power to accuse, arrest, imprison, torture, and execute suspected heretics.

The Inquisition officially came to Spain in 1478. Pope Sixtus IV authorized Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon to identify heretics to strengthen Catholic orthodoxy in Spain. The two Catholic monarchs had recently conquered territory in Andalusia, in southern Spain, the outposts of a Muslim presence that had endured for more than seven centuries. It had produced one of the most sophisticated scholarly and artistic cultures in medieval Europe. To secure their hold on these "reconquered" lands, the monarchs founded the Holy Office of the Inquisition. The office was overseen by the grand inquisitor whose jurisdiction included Spain and all of its territories, including those in the Americas.

The Spanish Inquisition aimed to create spiritual and national unity through the Catholic Church. In addition to large numbers of Muslims, 15th-century Spain was home to a strong Jewish community, one of the first targets of the grand inquisitor. In 1492 Ferdinand and Isabella issued an edict that ordered Spanish Jews to convert or be exiled; historians believe that more than 160,000 Jews "chose" exile. Jews who converted were typically viewed with suspicion; some were accused of being Marranos, Jews who feigned baptism and covertly practiced Judaism.

In the 16th century Spain began targeting its Muslim community in earnest. In the 1520s Muslims became subject to forced conversions. As with the Jewish community, Muslims who had converted, the Moriscos, were often persecuted. By 1614 approximately 300,000 were exiled from Spain. As the Inquisition continued, the Holy Office also targeted sinners, free thinkers, the mentally ill, and homosexuals.

The testimonies of the people who lived through the Spanish Inquisition reveal the personal dimension of living in a climate of paranoia, desperation, and fear. From 1478 until the Spanish Inquisition's official end in 1834, Spaniards across all social classes were vulnerable to the expanding reach of the Holy Office. They could be labeled heretics, lose their property, be imprisoned and tortured, and even be executed —all in the name of faith.

ISLAMIC ART IN SPAIN

A 10th-century ivory pyx (casket) bears the name of the son of the caliph Abd ar-Rahman III. His capital, the Andalusian city of Córdoba, was, at the time, the largest city in Europe.

WERNER FORMAN/GTRES

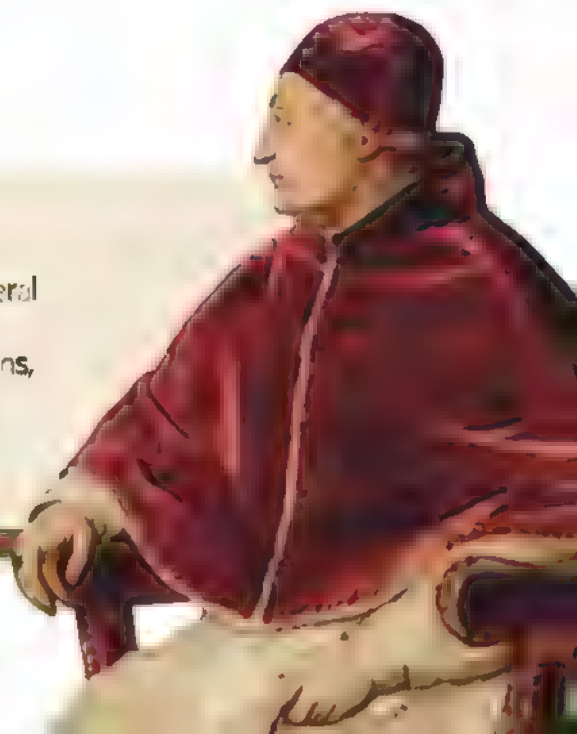
FAITH AND OPPRESSION

1184
Pope Lucius III lays the groundwork for the Inquisition throughout Europe.

1478
The Spanish Inquisition begins. Persecution of Jews will extend to Muslims and Protestants.

1808-09
Napoleon suspends the Inquisition in Spain. After his 1814 withdrawal, it is restored.

1834
Following several suppressions and restorations, the Spanish Inquisition is abolished.

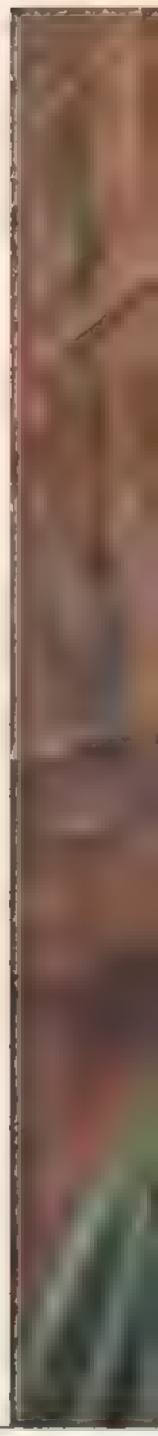


POPE SIXTUS IV, WHO AUTHORIZED THE SPANISH INQUISITION. PORTRAIT BY TITIAN (1546) UFFIZI GALLERY, FLORENCE

SCALA, FLORENCE

A STANDARD OF THE SPANISH INQUISITION .N A 1692 ENGRAVING
PRISMA/ALBUM

FIVE VICTIMS OF THE INQUISITION



1530

Leonor Barzana
Daughter of the Burned Man

Leonor Barzana was a native of Toledo in central Spain, a city that once held a vibrant Jewish community. Her ancestors were Jewish, but she was living as a Christian. Her father, a money changer, was burned at the stake, accused of secretly practicing the Jewish faith. Her paternal uncle was convicted of the same offense but ordered to wear a penitentiary tunic. She lived in the same medieval town of her ancestors and was often referred to as the "daughter of the burned man."

As she grew older, Barzana attracted the attention of Toledo's network of spies and Inquisition informers: A neighbor testified that she had heard Barzana say several times that the inquisitors who had killed her father were "scoundrels and traitors."

When she became an adult, Barzana was known as a *beata,* unmarried Christian women who often took vows of chastity and poverty but did not belong to a specific order. Her dedication to the Christian faith should have protected her, but her spirituality became conflated with supernatural powers.

She developed, it was said, a reputation for being able to tell people's fortunes with a talent for predicting the future of newborns. When a pregnant neighbor went into labor, Barzana is said to have come to the door with a lit candle. She had a prophetic vision in which she saw the sky open, lightning flash, and a bird brush past her nose. When the baby boy was born, Barzana insisted that he should be called Gabriel and predicted that he would be a wise, religious man.

All these episodes came to light at Barzana's first trial in 1530. She was accused of boasting of her Jewishness and engaging in magical practices—charges she said were fabricated by malicious neighbors. She received 100 lashes and was released. Six years later she was arrested again when new rumors surfaced. Witnesses said she had "created" souls by consulting a magical book, "following which, a sound of crying could be heard." Again, she denied the charges and received a lashing, but then she was imprisoned.

Barzana may have been a visionary or she may have been a victim of malicious informers. She would not so easily have fallen under suspicion if she had come from a Christian family. The hatred of Jewishness extended into later generations, and its stigma proved difficult to escape. ■

The chilling scrutiny of the Spanish Inquisition becomes plain when reading of the pain and suffering inflicted on those living under its sway. From 1478 to 1834, the people of Spain feared not only the inquisitors but also their neighbors, their colleagues, and their families.

FIGURES IN AN AUTO-DA-FÉ, A DETAIL FROM A 1493-99 PAINTING BY PEDRO BERRUGUETE

ALBUM

FORBIDDEN READING
A painting by 19th-century Belgian artist Karel Ooms depicts a Spanish Jew and his daughter fearful of being caught reading prohibited Jewish books. Palace of the Forgotten, Granada, Spain

MANUEL COHEN/AURIMAGES

1606

María Páez Limpati

Betrayer of Her People

In 1606 an official of the Holy Office convinced a 19-year-old woman, María Páez Limpati, to betray her friends, her neighbors, and her family. Páez belonged to the Morisco community who remained in Spain after the Catholic Monarchs conquered the Nasrid kingdom in Granada, one of the last Muslim strongholds in Spain, in 1492. Muslim converts to Christianity were forbidden by law from wearing their traditional dress and speaking Arabic. Despite converting to Catholicism, the Moriscos continued to be persecuted and targeted by the Inquisition.

In 1568 a violent uprising in a mountainous region south of Granada caused the monarchy to punish the population. Moriscos were deported to various parts of central Spain, where they formed new communities. One of them was in Almagro, about 100 miles south of Toledo. Almagro's name means "red clay" in Arabic, a reference to the typical soil in the region. In the 16th century, however, the city's Christian identity was being strongly asserted through the building of churches and schools.

A MUSLIM CONVERT, A DETAIL OF AN ILLUSTRATION OF GRANADA, PUBLISHED IN *CIVITATES ORBIS TERRARUM*, A 1572 ATLAS OF WORLD CITIES
PRISMA ARCHIVO

Targeting Moriscos

In an atmosphere of paranoia and continued zeal for religious purity, inquisitors would often show up to surprise towns with sizable Morisco populations. These raids would quickly swoop in to investigate if Islam was secretly being practiced. In the early 1600s a raid befell Almagro, and a wave of fear and betrayal broke over the community.

In 1606 María Páez Limpati was a 19-year-old Morisca living in Almagro. Documents from the time reveal that pressure from the inquisitors led her to make numerous accusations against those in her community. Páez's statements triggered cruel interrogations, torture, seizure of property, and loss of life. Her claims culminated in an auto-da-fé, the ceremony in which the inquisitors pronounced their judgments, in Toledo later that year. Her relatives and neighbors would be burned at the stake, while others were sentenced to life imprisonment or to servitude in the royal galleys.

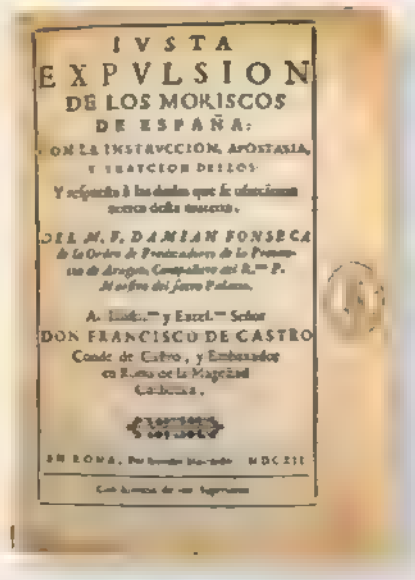
CRITICAL MASS
A 16th-century painted wooden altarpiece by Felipe Bigarny depicts the mass baptism of Muslims in Granada, following the Christian conquest of the city in 1492. Granada Cathedral, Spain

PRISMA/ALBUM

Páez named her loved ones and neighbors. She admitted to having practiced Islamic rites, accused her neighbors of keeping the Ramadan fast, and observing the *guadoc* (a facial ablution) "in observance of the sect of Muhammad." To save their lives, community members followed suit, incriminating others in turn.

Páez's family suffered greatly as a result. Her father was accused of observing Muslim fasts and conducting sacred ceremonies. A witness testified that he gathered with other Moriscos to dine after fasting during Ramadan. They said he had paper with Arabic words written on them in his house. He was sentenced to confiscation of all of his property. After refusing to confess, he was burned at the stake. Páez's uncle suffered the same fate; her sister,

After "several turns of the rope," the excruciating pain made her say what her inquisitors wanted to hear: that she had never believed in God.



COVER OF THE 1612 PUBLICATION *JUSTA EXPULSIÓN DE LOS MORISCOS DE ESPAÑA (THE JUST EXPULSION OF THE MORISCOS FROM SPAIN)* BY FRANCISCO DE CASTRO. BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL, MADRID

ORONOZ/ALBUM

14 years old, was forced to renounce her faith, and her mother confessed to practicing Islam but did escape execution.

Under Torture

The accounts of the interrogations are not for the faint of heart: In one case, a Morisca was tied to the rack, and after "several turns of the rope," the excruciating pain made her say what her inquisitors wanted to hear: "That she had never believed in God, nor in Our Lord . . . and that how could God be three persons?" Other confessions, extracted under similar torture methods, revealed to the scandalized inquisitors that the accused regarded sacred objects, such as statues of saints, as of no more value than wooden sticks.

Not even the elderly were spared from the Spanish Inquisition's brutality. Isabel de Cañete, 78 years old, was accused of conducting various Islamic ceremonies and divinations. After being tortured, she was sentenced to confiscation of her property and imprisoned for life. Another elderly woman was tortured on the rack until she fainted. Nearly all the accused had their property confiscated or faced heavy fines—a process that must have considerably added to the Holy Office's coffers. ■

1632

Jerónimo de Liébana
Clever Conman and So-called Sorcerer

Jerónimo de Liébana was a self-declared sorcerer, a claim that repeatedly brought him to the attention of the inquisitors, who were ever attentive to any deviance from the path of orthodoxy. Today Liébana might be regarded as a conman, but his story reflects the extent to which the dark arts were deeply feared as a very real phenomenon in the 16th and 17th centuries. This belief was found not only in the general population but also in educated sectors of Spanish society, including writers, clergymen, and members of the Inquisition.

Born around 1592 in southwestern Spain, Liébana lived an itinerant life from a young age, traveling around the Iberian Peninsula, sometimes under the pseudonym Juan Calvo. Sometime during his travels, he was allegedly initiated into the magic arts.

In 1620 Liébana was put on trial by the Inquisition, which accused him of holding black masses and distributing pieces of paper with "characters" on them to make the bearer invisible or win at gambling. Twenty-nine people testified against him at the trial, during which he was tortured on the rack. Following this ordeal, he appeared in an auto-da-fé, dressed as a penitent in a robe and a conical hat. He received 100 lashes and was sentenced to serve in the royal galleys.

A Dramatic Tale

But the inquisitors had not seen the last of the self-styled magus. Helped by forged documents, and—so he claimed—the assistance of a nobleman, the Count of Zabellán, Liébana escaped. He remained free for a short

◀ **GASPAR DE GUZMÁN,** COUNT-DUKE OF OLIVARES, THE POWERFUL MINISTER OF PHILIP IV, IN A 1624 PORTRAIT BY DIEGO VELÁZQUEZ. SÃO PAULO ART MUSEUM, BRAZIL
BRIDGEMAN/ACI

TEMPTING FATE
A palm reader tells a client's future in a 17th-century painting by Pietro della Vecchia. Fortune-telling and other occult practices were targets of the Inquisition. Civic Museum, Palazzo Chiericati, Vicenza, Italy
DEA/A. BAM

time before once again being taken into the custody of the Inquisitors in Barcelona. In a bid to evade the ordeal of the rack, or worse, Liébana spun a dramatic tale: Zabellán had rescued him, he claimed, in order to use his occult powers. When he was brought into the parlor of the count's house, Liébana found books of spells and paraphernalia set out like planets around a statuette of Spain's king, Philip IV. Clearly, he argued, there was a plot afoot against the king, and in return for the information, he pleaded to be released. Liébana could not procure witnesses and was sent back to the galleys.

In 1627 he managed to escape again, making his way to Ocaña in central Spain, where his carefully cultivated appearance of learning and sobriety secured him a post with the Jesuits.

In the house of the Count of Zabellán, Liébana found books of spells and paraphernalia arranged like planets around a statuette of Philip IV.

The would-be sorcerer was involved in several incidents of conning and theft. He was recaptured in 1631, and again spoke of a conspiracy against Philip IV.

Luck Runs Out

The authorities listened to him this time and sent him to Madrid so he could tell everything he knew to the Count-Duke of Olivares, Philip IV's prime minister. Liébana told him an elaborate tale, involving senior Spanish nobles and a French wizard in the port of Málaga. As part of an occult ceremony, he explained, they burned a set of statuettes in order to bring about the fall of Olivares. He described a rite in which the French wizard placed the burnt statues in a chest and threw it into the sea.

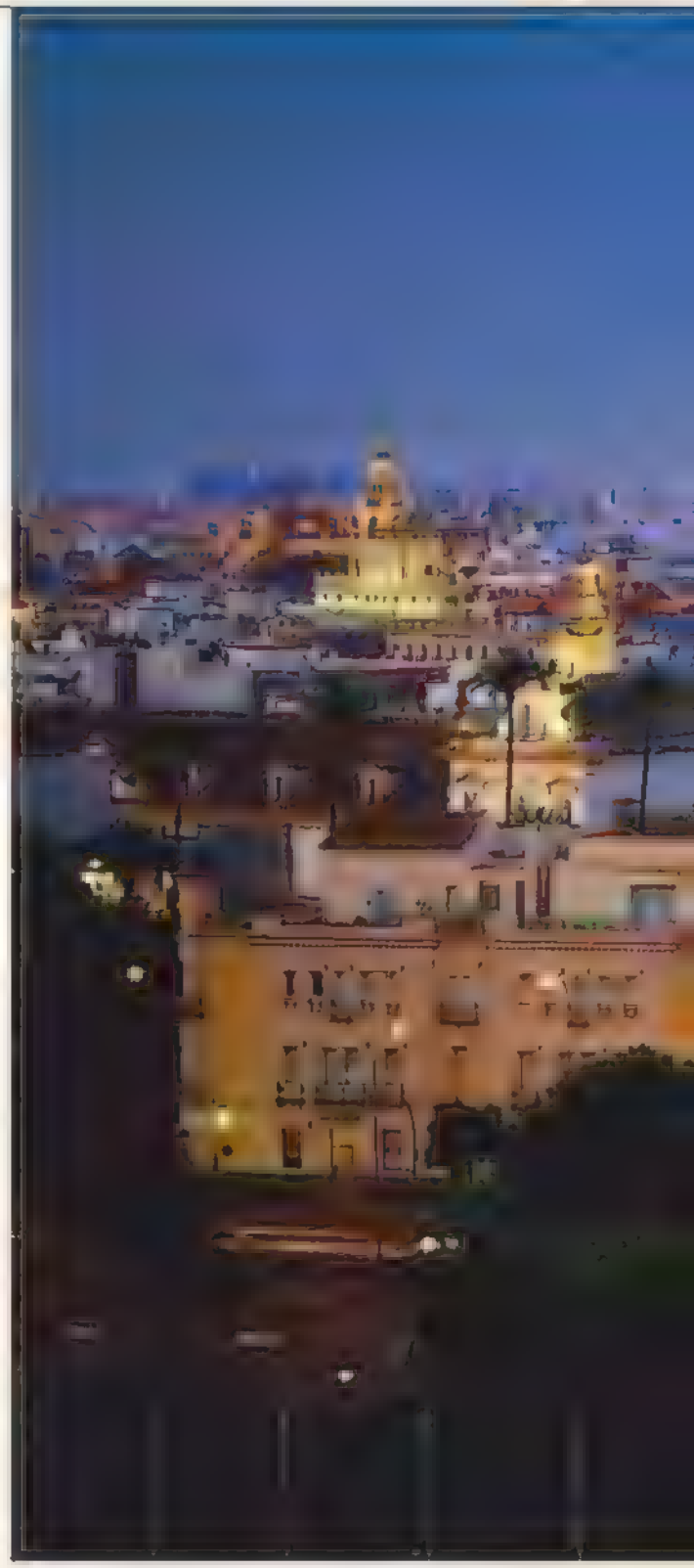
It is a sign of the power of the belief in sinister forces and plots that Philip IV and his minister sent a committee to Málaga to retrieve the coffer from the seabed with the prisoner's assistance. They found nothing, and this time the sorcerer was out of luck. He appeared in an auto-da-fé in summer 1632, with a candle in his hand, a conical hat on his head, a rope around his throat, and a wizard's insignia. He was ordered to abjure heretical superstitions and given 400 lashes. He was then imprisoned, probably for the rest of his life. ■

The Inquisition arrived in Barcelona in 1487, taking up residence in a part of the 14th-century, Gothic-style Grand Royal Palace. A year later, the first execution for heresy took place here. The condemned were garroted in the square and their bodies burned on the outskirts of the city.

ENDLESS TRAVEL/ALAMY/ACI

1730

Brother Juan Elías
Teacher of a Rival Faith



In its zeal for religious uniformity, the Holy Office not only spied on Spain's lay population, but also closely monitored the activities of the priesthood and religious orders. Clerics who abused their authority were duly punished. But, as this tale of a wayward monk reveals, the seriousness of a crime in the eyes of the Inquisition could often be less about the acts committed than the heretical thinking behind them.

Juan Elías was a lay brother in the Monastery of San Pedro Alcántara in Seville, and he was about 50 when the Inquisition turned its attention to him around 1730. Juan Elías's duties consisted of collecting alms in the city's different neighborhoods. Reports describe how his calm speech and sweet voice earned him a reputation as a holy, virtuous man. But he was not quite all he seemed.

During his visits, the monk engaged in pious talk with the local people, explaining the theology behind the Lord's Prayer and telling them that all men are brothers before God and that they should love one another. On this pretext, he started visiting a 35-year-old married woman, Francisca. After gaining her trust, he began to hold her hand and then placed it on his thigh. On the next occasion, he even embraced her in her bedroom, reassuring her that his intentions were pure and that he was thinking only about God during their times together.

A SPANISH MONK
17TH-CENTURY PAINTING BY FRANCISCO DE ZURBARÁN
ORONOZ/ALBUM

A later meeting followed, in which the sources suggest that Francisca started to discourage the monk's advances. Juan Elías turned his attention instead to a neighbor, a single woman of 25, named Teresa. Records from the time describe how he assured her that they could be intimate without committing a sin: "If I or anyone else does this, holds your hands and embraces you, since we are in God as we are, it is no sin or bad thing."

Rival Faith

Tortured by remorse about what had occurred, Francisca, his first victim, reported the alms collector to the Seville Inquisition. In her statement, Francisca revealed her own and Teresa's encounters with the rogue monk. The court summoned Teresa, and based on the testimony of the two women, the *calificadores*—members of the inquisitorial tribunal who

THE TOWER AND THE GLORY
The Spanish Inquisition set up an office in Seville in 1481. In the foreground is the dodecagonal Tower of Gold, built in the 13th century by the city's Arab rulers. In the background is Seville Cathedral, the largest cathedral in the world, and the resting place of Christopher Columbus.
SEBASTIANO SCATTOLIN/AGE FOTOSTOCK

determined the type of offense committed—wrote a report about the accused, his deeds, and the ideas he espoused to the women.

What the women did not know was that the ideas Juan Elías had explained to them reminded the inquisitors of a heretical doctrine: quietism, a philosophy with medieval roots, later refined by the 17th-century Spanish mystic Miguel de Molinos. Quietism taught that one could achieve grace through passive contemplation rather than active prayer. Although Molinos's thinking was well regarded for a short time, the church turned against it, and arrested its initiator in 1685. During the investigation, Molinos was accused of deviant sexual acts that he claimed were sinless. He was found guilty of heresy in 1687, and Pope Innocent XI condemned his teachings that same year. Molinos died in prison in 1696.

According to the inquisitors, Juan Elías was a disciple of the mystic Miguel de Molinos, accused of teaching that sex outside of marriage was not sinful.

Juan Elías's "seductions" brought to light what was—in the eyes of the Holy Office of the Inquisition—a far greater crime: evidence that he was a follower of Miguel de Molinos and therefore a heretic. He was found guilty and imprisoned. As disgraceful as Juan Elías's actions appear to modern eyes, the inquisitors feared the doctrine he preached more than the actual violations he committed against two women. ■

1826

Cayetano Ripoll
The Inquisition's Final Victim

Born in a small cathedral city in Catalonia around 1778, Cayetano Ripoll was a diligent pupil and a loyal son of the Catholic Church. A scholarly, and—by many accounts, selfless—man, Ripoll's life somehow ended on the gallows in 1826, the last person in Spain executed for heresy.

From young adulthood, Ripoll's life was deeply marked by the convulsions of European politics, and the bitter struggle between new Enlightenment ideas and old Catholic traditions. In 1808 Spain was occupied by Napoleon, whose reforms included suppressing the Inquisition. The Peninsular War broke out between Spain (and her allies) and Napoleon in 1808. In the course of the war, Ripoll, then in his early 30s, was captured by the French. He was taken to France as a prisoner where it is believed he learned about deism, the Enlightenment belief that the path to fulfillment can be found through reason without church teachings.

After the war ended in 1814, Napoleon's troops were expelled from Spain. King Ferdinand VII returned to the throne, and Ripoll was freed from France and sent back to Spain. He settled in Ruzafa and began working as a teacher near the Mediterranean port of Valencia. Ripoll's work garnered him a reputation as an ideological teacher, who even shared his meager salary with the poor.

In the decade following the war, Spain was in ideological turmoil as Enlightenment reformers struggled with Catholic traditionalists over control of Spain. Ferdinand VII, a fervent Catholic, reinstated the Inquisition in 1814, much to the opposition of liberal reformers. Liberal and conservative forces clashed for years, trading blows back and forth. Reformers gained power in 1820 and forced Ferdinand to shut down the

PABLO LINÉS/MUSEO DEL ROMANTICISMO

◀ **CAYETANO RIPOLL** IS LED TO THE GALLOWS. 19TH-CENTURY ENGRAVING

THE BANNERS OF FAITH

A procession of the Spanish Inquisition, with the city of Valencia in the background, in a painting attributed to Francisco de Goya.

FOUNDATION E. G. BÜHRLE COLLECTION, ZURICH

FERDINAND VII OF SPAIN DETAIL OF A PORTRAIT BY FRANCISCO DE GOYA

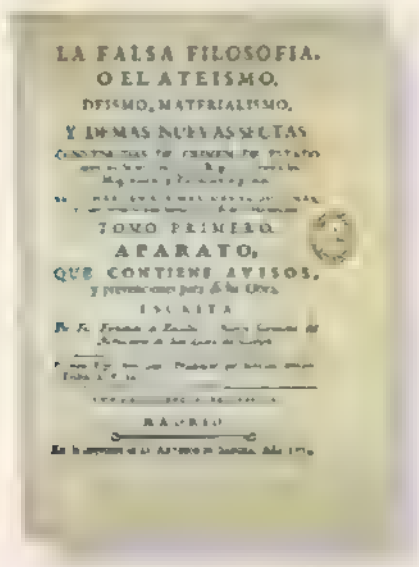
ALBUM

Holy Office, but in 1823 liberal forces were crushed by Ferdinand's royalist allies from France. Catholic traditionalists were back in power and needed their French allies to stay there.

The French disdained the Inquisition, so Ferdinand VII was reluctant to restore it. Instead, he established "Faith Commissions" *(juntas de fé)*. These councils held no true legal authority but enjoyed the protection of the government and Catholic Church.

A Teacher's Fate

In Valencia, a traditionalist stronghold, rumors about the behavior of



LA FALSA FILOSOFIA.
O EL ATEISMO.
DEISMO, MATERIALISMO.
Y DEMAS NUEVAS SECTAS
TOMO PRIMERO.
APARATO,
QUE CONTIENE AVISOS,
MADRID

"FALSE PHILOSOPHY," FRONTISPIECE OF A 1774 SPANISH COMPENDIUM OF TEXTS CONSIDERED HERETICAL, INCLUDING THE DEIST WRITINGS TO WHICH CAYETANO RIPOLL SUBSCRIBED. BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL, MADRID

ORONOZ/ALBUM

the deist teacher had reached church officials. Ripoll, it was said, did not take his young charges to Mass, and instructed them to say "Praised be the Lord" instead of "Hail, purest Mary." Exercising their new power, the Valencia Junta arrested Ripoll in September 1824 for heresy.

For two years, Ripoll refused to recant his deist beliefs; he was ultimately sentenced to death. In July 1826 he was hanged for his beliefs. Rather than burn his body, sources say it was placed in a barrel painted with flames, thrown in the river, and then buried in unconsecrated ground.

News of the execution was greeted with disgust by Spanish liberals. Even Ferdinand thought the junta had gone too far, in part because the king regarded the ultratraditionalists as a threat to his power.

It would take almost a decade before the Spanish Inquisition was definitively abolished in 1834. Ripoll—for whom a square was named in Valencia—became a hero to Spanish liberals. Although the Inquisition was dead, the struggle between conservative Catholics and Enlightenment liberals continued to deeply divide the nation, influencing Spain's brutal civil war a century later. ■

Author ***María Lara Martínez*** is a specialist on the history of the Catholic Church in medieval and modern Spain.

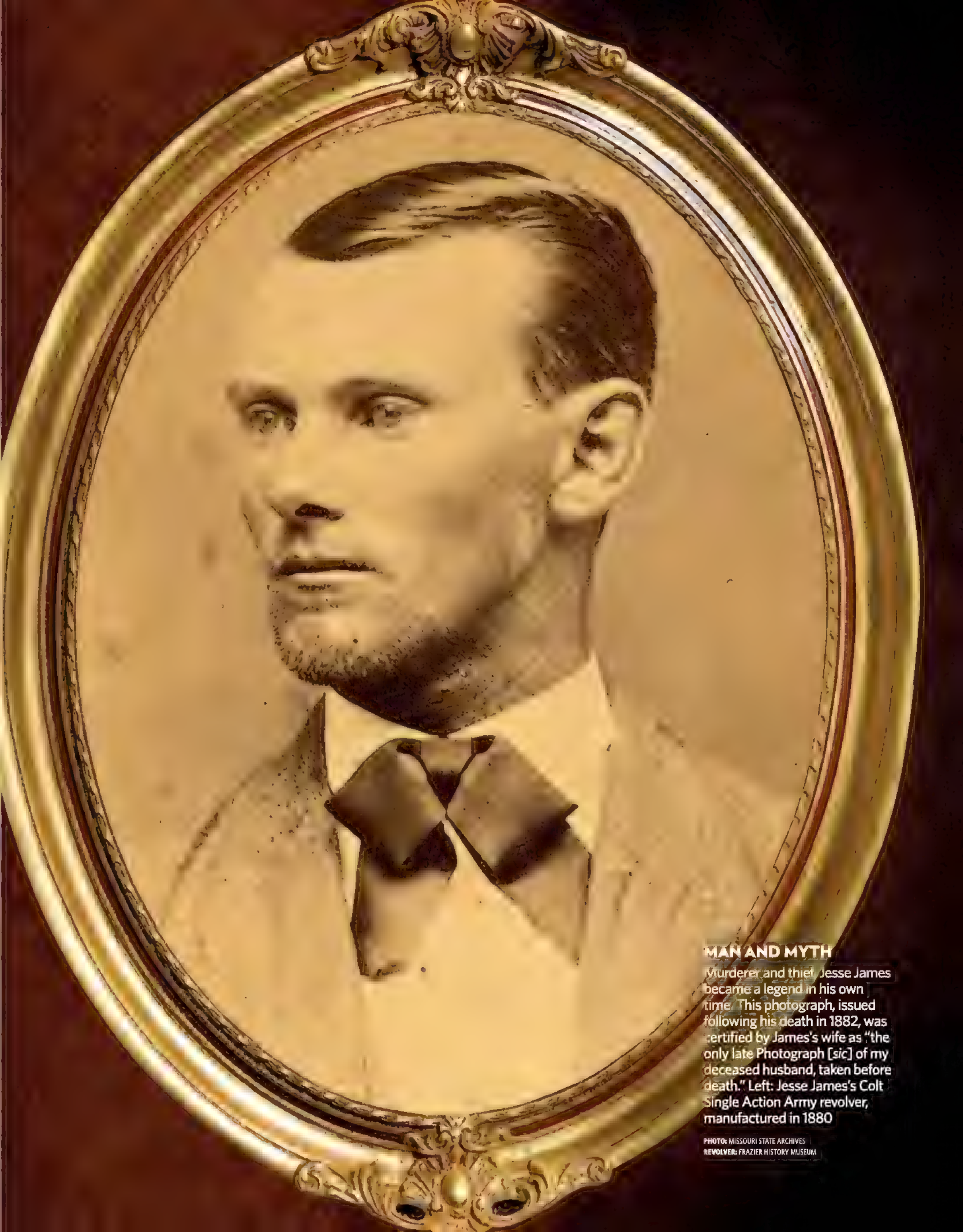
JESSE JAMES

Rise of an American Outlaw

Jesse James he was a man that was knowed through all the land
For Jesse he was bold and bad and brave

Such is how one version of the popular 19th-century ballad "Jesse James" depicted the infamous Missouri outlaw. And, to a certain extent, Jesse James was all those things.

MARK LEE GARDNER



MAN AND MYTH

Murderer and thief Jesse James became a legend in his own time. This photograph, issued following his death in 1882, was certified by James's wife as "the only late Photograph [*sic*] of my deceased husband, taken before death." Left: Jesse James's Colt Single Action Army revolver, manufactured in 1880

PHOTO: MISSOURI STATE ARCHIVES
REVOLVER: FRAZIER HISTORY MUSEUM

SURVIVOR'S STRENGTH

An undated photograph of Zerelda James Samuel (above), mother of Frank and Jesse James, reveals the toll that life had taken on the resolute Zerelda.

PRINT COLLECTOR/GETTY IMAGES

THE TRIALS OF MOTHER JAMES

Described as a "radiantly beautiful woman" in her youth, Zerelda James Samuel (1825-1911) stood nearly six feet tall. More imposing than her height, though, was her personality. At a time when women were expected to tend to the children and keep their opinions to themselves, the strong-willed Zerelda didn't hesitate to speak her mind. It was said she was "not afraid of the devil himself." It was also said that Jesse James took after his mother.

Zerelda's life was filled with tragedy, but the hardest of all to bear occurred on January 26, 1875. In the dark of night, a small force of men employed by the Pinkerton Detective Agency attacked her farmhouse in the belief the James boys were home (they weren't). The Pinkertons forced an incendiary device through the kitchen window that unexpectedly exploded. A piece of shrapnel struck Jesse's eight-year-old half brother, Archie Samuel, causing a fatal wound. Another piece mangled Zerelda's right wrist so badly that her arm had to be amputated just below the elbow. As she did in the face of other hardships, Zerelda carried on. In her last years, Zerelda sold 25-cent tickets to tour her home and visit her son Jesse's grave. "Much trouble has come to me there," she told a reporter, "but I love the old place and want to live there 'til I die."

In the dozen years from 1869 to 1881, Jesse James may have taken part in as many as 19 robberies—banks, trains, and stagecoaches—stretching from Mississippi to West Virginia to Minnesota. Nearly 20 people died as a result of this outlawry, including seven of Jesse's cohorts, yet the brazen holdups continued. Law enforcement and private detectives failed repeatedly to corral Jesse and his gang, and Missouri earned the epithet the "Robber State."

But before there was the bold and bad and brave Jesse, and long before there was the mythic Jesse of song, dime novels, and films, there was a blue-eyed boy, son of a Baptist minister and a devoted mother, coming of age in a land torn apart over slavery and divided loyalties.

Jesse's parents, Kentucky natives, met in the summer of 1841. His father, Robert, was a student at Georgetown College. His mother, Zerelda Cole, attended a Catholic school in nearby Lexington. A classmate remembered Robert as exceptionally bright, but "his awkwardness and gawky appearance caused him to be the victim of many practical jokes." The easygoing Robert took the jokes in stride, however, and soon became one of the most well liked men at the college. Zerelda seemed to have discovered Robert's charms as well, and they were married in December. The groom was 23 and his bride was 16.

FROM FARMER TO THIEF

1841

Robert James and Zerelda Cole meet and marry. They move to Missouri and start a family. They have three children who live to adulthood: Frank, Jesse, and Susan.

1850

Enticed west by the California gold rush, Robert James dies in the mining camp of Rough and Ready. Zerelda is left with six slaves (valued at $2,050) and the family farm.

1861

The U.S. Civil War begins, and Frank joins the Confederate Army and later a band of guerrillas. Jesse is too young to fight and stays at the farm to help his mother and stepfather.

THE HOMESTEAD

The Missouri farmhouse where James was born in 1847 (the gabled wing to the right was added after his death). After James's 1882 murder, his body was interred here on the wishes of his mother, and later moved to nearby Mount Olivet Cemetery. Today the house is part of the Jesse James Birthplace historic site.

MARK LEE GARDNER

On a trip to visit Zerelda's mother and stepfather in western Missouri the next year, the couple liked the fertile country, and the frontier could always use another man of God. Leaving Zerelda in Missouri, Robert returned to Kentucky to complete his coursework, graduating with a bachelor's degree on June 23, 1843 (he would earn his master's five years later). When he reunited with Zerelda that summer, she greeted him with their first child: Alexander Franklin James. Robert purchased a 225-acre farm in Clay County, Missouri, and it was on that farm that Jesse Woodson James was born on September 5, 1847. A daughter, Susan, followed in 1849.

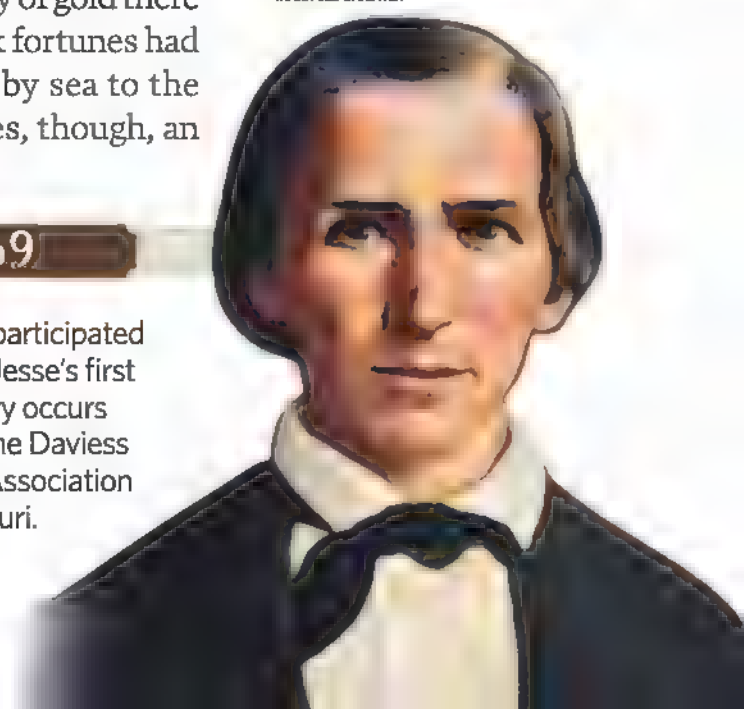
Growing Up

The highly intelligent, once awkward college student became a powerful presence in the region. When Robert became pastor of the New Hope Baptist Church, its membership stood at 20; seven years later, that number had grown to almost 300. In 1849 he was a founding trustee of William Jewell College in Liberty, Missouri, which operates to this day. But in 1850, Robert chose to leave his family and parishioners behind to join a party of Clay Countians bound for California. Since the discovery of gold there two years earlier, dreams of quick fortunes had lured thousands over land and by sea to the new El Dorado. For Robert James, though, an

FALLEN FATHER

Robert James, depicted in a 19th-century painting (below), was a pastor, farmer, and slave owner who died when Jesse was a young child. The loss of Robert hit the James family hard.

THE JESSE JAMES BIRTHPLACE/ MARK LEE GARDNER



1863

Searching for Frank, Union troops visit the James farm. They torture Jesse and his stepfather to reveal Frank's location, cementing Jesse's hatred for the Union.

1864

Jesse joins Frank and the bushwhackers, and the two take part in the Battle of Centralia. Jesse will be seriously wounded twice before the war's end in 1865.

1869

Believed to have participated in several heists, Jesse's first confirmed robbery occurs in December at the Daviess County Savings Association in Gallatin, Missouri.

A COLOR MAP OF THE U.S.A. IN 1854 ILLUSTRATES THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT.

NORTH WIND PICTURE/ALAMY/ACI

KANSAS-MISSOURI MAYHEM

It sounded simple and fair: The people of Kansas Territory would decide if it became a free or slave state. That was the intent of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. But neighboring Missouri, which had entered the Union 33 years before, was largely settled by people from slave states. The state's central Missouri River corridor, from St. Louis to Kansas City, became known as Little Dixie. Pro-slavery Missourians poured into Kansas to sway the vote. Parties of Northern abolitionists—including John Brown—did the same. Open warfare soon followed between the Missourian "border ruffians" and the Kansan "jayhawkers." A small army of Missourians sacked Lawrence, Kansas, a Free-Stater stronghold, in May 1856. Brown and his followers retaliated by murdering five pro-slavery settlers near Pottawatomie Creek. The violence of Bleeding Kansas, as this series of events is now known, continued for four years, resulting in the deaths of more than 50 Americans. Kansas was admitted to the Union as a free state in 1861, but the Civil War would ensure that the conflict between bushwhackers and jayhawkers continued, leaving the border region in upheaval for much of the war.

even greater dream may have been the saving of men's souls.

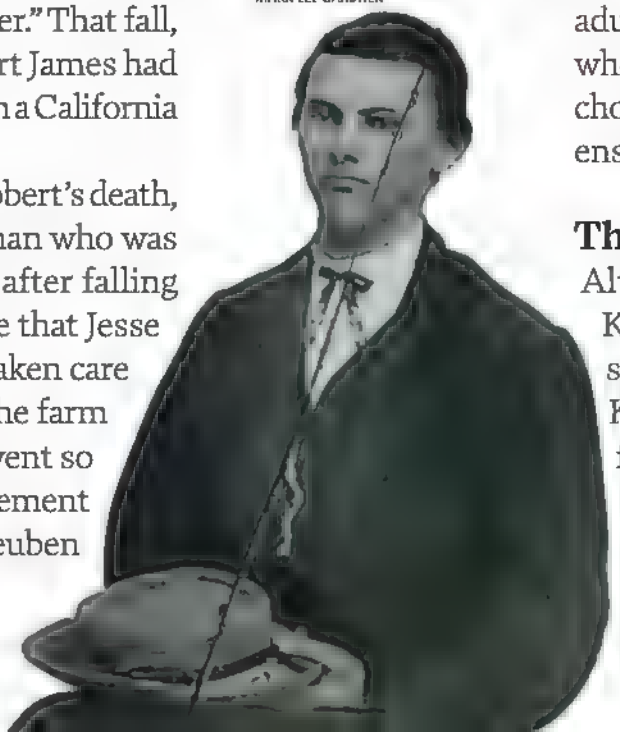
A story handed down in the family tells how little Jesse clung to his father and begged him not to leave. Once on his westward journey, Robert dutifully wrote home. "Give my love to all inquiring friends," he ended one letter to Zerelda, "& take a portion of it to your self & kiss Jesse for me & tell Franklin to be a good boy & learn fast. I must close by saying live prayerful & ask god to help you to train your children in the path of duty. Fare-ye-well till my next letter." That fall, those loving letters stopped. Robert James had succumbed to an unknown illness in a California mining camp.

Despite the severe hardship of Robert's death, and a brief second marriage to a man who was not fond of the children (he died after falling from his horse), Zerelda made sure that Jesse James and his siblings were well taken care of on the family farm—and that the farm remained under her control. She went so far as to insist on a prenuptial agreement with her third and last husband, Reuben Samuel, a doctor and fellow Kentuckian, whom she married in 1855.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT

This photograph of Jesse James (below), taken when he was around 15, was made using the ambrotype technique on a fragile glass plate, which has cracked in several places.

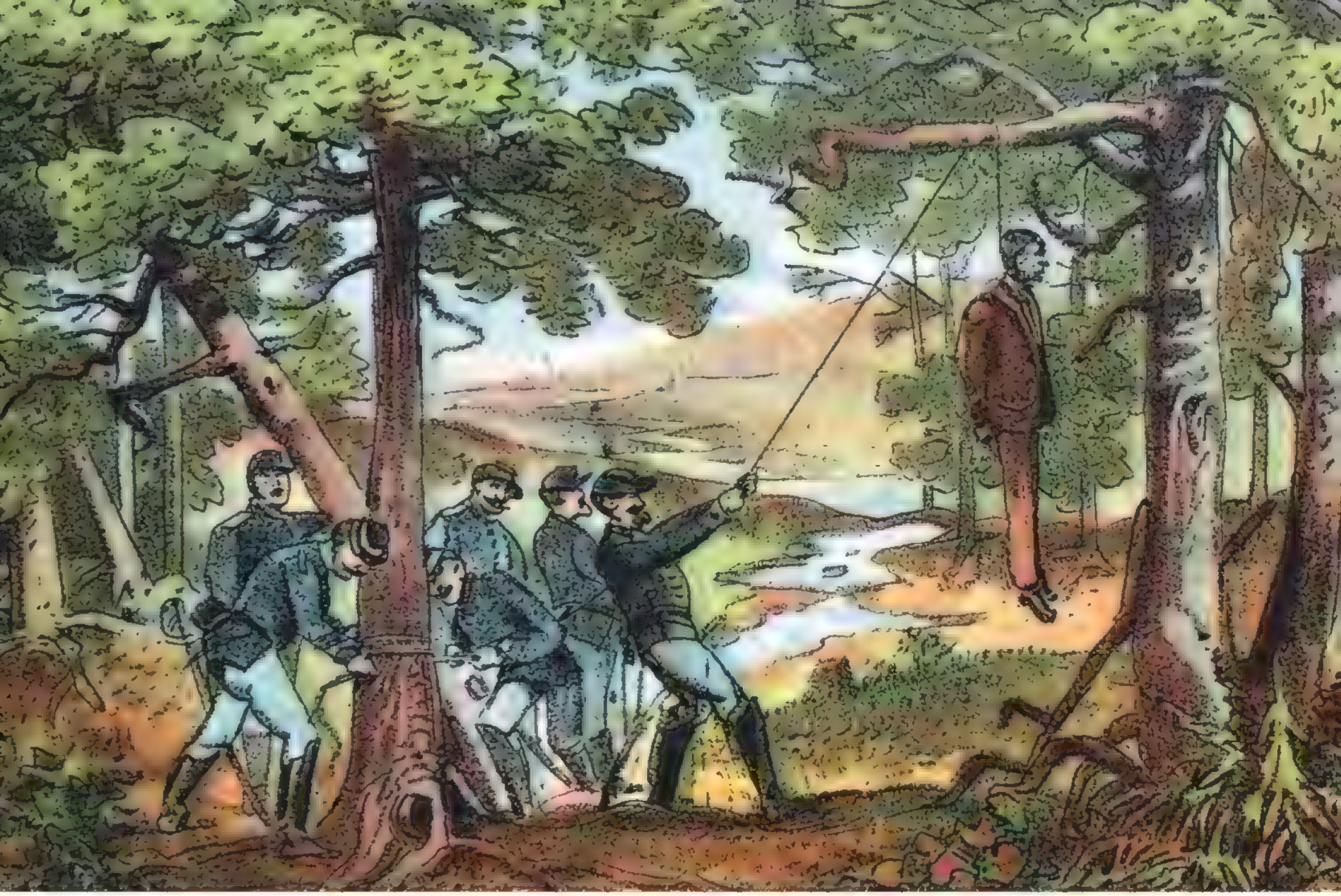
THE JESSE JAMES BIRTHPLACE/ MARK LEE GARDNER



The woods and fields of Clay County were the James boys' playground, but there was a dark underside to life at that time and place. Slavery was everywhere in western Missouri, with its numerous tobacco and hemp farms. Clay County counted 2,742 slaves in 1850, and six of those belonged to Reverend James (Robert sold a young slave to help finance his trip to California). Only one of those six was an adult, a 30-year-old woman named Charlotte, whose work was likely confined to household chores and caring for the children, both free and enslaved.

The James Brothers' Civil War

Although living less than 40 miles from the Kansas border, Jesse's family was fairly insulated from the violence over whether the Kansas Territory would enter the Union as a free or a slave state. The outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, however, was another matter. "The people were all mixed up and



WAR CRIME

A chromolithograph (above) depicts Union soldiers torturing Reuben Samuel, Jesse James's stepfather, in May 1863. Severely injured, Samuel agreed to reveal the whereabouts of his stepson Frank and a bushwhacker camp.

MARK LEE GARDNER COLLECTION

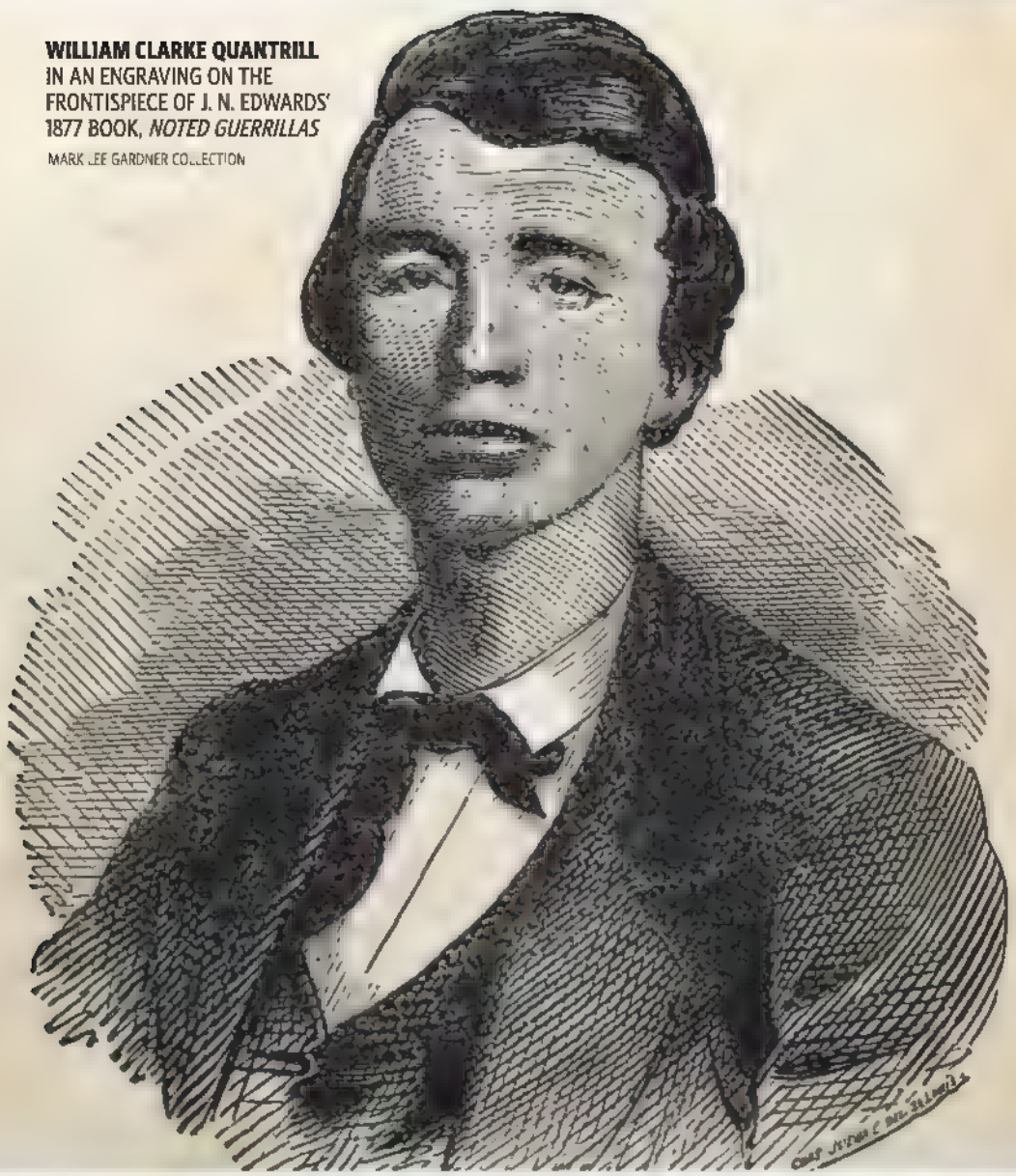
everybody was a spy for his side," Frank James recalled about the atmosphere in Clay County during the war. "You were for the South and your neighbor was for Lincoln." As slave owners with Kentucky roots, there was little question which side Jesse's family would take. A neighbor recalled that when news of the war came, 18-year-old Frank James "was wild, shooting his pistol and hallooing for Jeff Davis."

Jesse was far too young to enlist. Frank joined the pro-Southern Missouri State Guard and in less than five months' time fought in two major Missouri battles, Wilson's Creek and Lexington, both Confederate victories. But that winter he was a patient in a military hospital, laid low not by a bullet but by measles. Captured by Federal forces, Frank was subsequently paroled and sent home, bound by an oath not to take up arms again against the Union. Yet as the war in Missouri devolved into bloody atrocities and reprisals, it was impossible for any able-bodied young man to stay out of the fight.

In May 1863 Frank joined the command of Southern guerrilla leader William Clarke Quantrill. The guerrillas, also known as bushwhackers, acted as irregular cavalry, generally operating independently of the Confederate army and devising their own objectives as their leaders saw fit. They supported themselves through raiding and help from their kin, which is why Federal militia appeared at the James farm soon after Frank joined the guerrillas.

The militia believed Frank was hiding nearby with other bushwhackers and ordered young Jesse to tell them where they were. When Jesse refused to talk, the soldiers mercilessly beat and whipped him. Next they tortured Jesse's stepfather, Reuben Samuel, stringing him up by the neck until the poor man agreed to lead them to the bushwhacker camp. The militia had not come to take prisoners and immediately opened fire on the guerrillas, killing two of them. Frank ran like hell, barely escaping as bullets whizzed around him. "After that day," Frank would recall years later, "Jesse was out for blood."

But Jesse's vendetta ride would have to wait until the next year. He was only 15 and, more importantly, a valuable tobacco crop on the



WILLIAM CLARKE QUANTRILL IN AN ENGRAVING ON THE FRONTISPIECE OF J. N. EDWARDS' 1877 BOOK, *NOTED GUERRILLAS*

MARK LEE GARDNER COLLECTION

QUANTRILL'S RAIDERS

WILLIAM CLARKE QUANTRILL (1837-1865), a teacher who turned to banditry before the outbreak of the Civil War, began forming a guerrilla force after deserting the Confederate Army in 1861. On August 21, 1863, Quantrill swooped down on Lawrence, Kansas, with more than 400 men, among whom were Frank James and Cole Younger. This attack was claimed to be in retaliation for the deaths and maiming of several young women, guerrilla supporters, who were being held in a makeshift prison when it collapsed. In what became known as the Lawrence Massacre, Quantrill and his followers slaughtered more than 150 men and boys, most of them civilians. "We knew he was not a very fine character," recalled Frank James, "but . . . We wanted to destroy the folks that wanted to destroy us, and we would follow any man who would show us how to do it."

family farm required tending. Jesse raised and harvested that crop with the help of a slave. The following winter months found most of the Missouri guerrillas encamped in Texas, but they were back in the spring and looking for recruits. Crops or no crops, nothing was going to stop Jesse from enlisting this time. Like his big brother Frank before him, he "went to the brush."

The James boys began exacting their revenge in June 1864. Accounts vary, but Jesse is reported to have killed Brantley Bond, one of the militiamen who had whipped him and hanged his stepfather. Bond surrendered to the bushwhackers and begged for his life, but Jesse, the story goes, reminded Bond of his deeds and then shot him dead. Another militia member, Alvis Dagley, was found the next day working in a field near his home. The guerrillas marched him to the road, where Frank put a bullet in him. "We did burn the houses of Yanks," Frank admitted years later. "We shot spies. So does everybody. If we hadn't we wouldn't have lasted a week."

RAIDERS' REUNION

In the decades following the Civil War, veterans would gather at annual reunions. Quantrill's Raiders (below, circa 1920) began holding theirs in 1898 and continued for more than 30 years.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI

Jesse was wounded twice that summer. The more serious of the two injuries came when he tried to steal a seemingly unattended saddle. The saddle's owner, a German Unionist farmer, saw what was happening and got off a quick shot from the doorway of his home, hitting the young thief in the right chest. Jesse didn't need a saddle for the next few weeks. The second wound occurred as Jesse was cleaning one of his revolvers. The gun suddenly went off, blowing away the tip of the middle finger on Jesse's left hand. As blood squirted everywhere, Jesse cried, "O, ding it! ding it! How it hurts!" From that day forward, Jesse James was known to family and close friends as "Dingus."

September found Jesse and Frank riding with guerrilla leader "Bloody Bill" Anderson, whose men became infamous for taking the scalps of dead enemy soldiers. On the 27th, Anderson's

DEATH COMES TO LAWRENCE
A colored woodcut (above) depicts the 1863 massacre in Lawrence, Kansas. Led by William C. Quantrill, it left more than 150 civilians dead in its wake.

AKG/A.BUM

bushwhackers sacked the town of Centralia, Missouri, and murdered 24 Federals on furlough who had the misfortune of being on a train that arrived at the depot during the mayhem. Later that day, Anderson's guerrillas routed a force of 115 Federals that had come in pursuit of the bushwhackers. Jesse, on a fleet horse at the head of the charge, galloped to within a few feet of the Union commander and knocked him out of his saddle with a pistol shot to the head. Only a handful of the Federals survived.

Jesse's feat would become famous, but Centralia would be the bushwhackers' last bloody hurrah. Anderson died in a skirmish with militia the next month. After another winter in Texas, the guerrillas returned to Missouri in the spring for more looting of towns and killing of Unionists, but the Confederacy was finished. So was Jesse's part in the war. In a May 15 firefight with a Federal patrol near Lexington, Missouri, a pistol ball ripped through Jesse's right lung, in nearly the same place as his wound of the previous year. This time, however, the injury nearly killed him.

Jesse's family claimed he was on his way to surrender when his party was attacked. Regardless, surrender he did after being wounded again. A week later, as he lay on a Lexington hotel bed slowly recuperating from the gunshot, Jesse James swore his allegiance to the United States. Brother Frank surrendered in Kentucky on July 26.

After the War

Jesse's injury required several months to fully heal. When he returned to Clay County, he found many of his Unionist neighbors weren't willing to let bygones be bygones. So, too, the Radical Republicans who made up the Missouri legislature. They drew up a new state constitution in 1865 that forbade slavery. It also forbade any citizen from voting, holding public office, or teaching school unless they took the notorious "Ironclad Oath." This pledge was entirely different from the oath of allegiance required of former Rebel soldiers. A person taking the Ironclad swore that he or she had never fought for, supported, or even sympathized with the

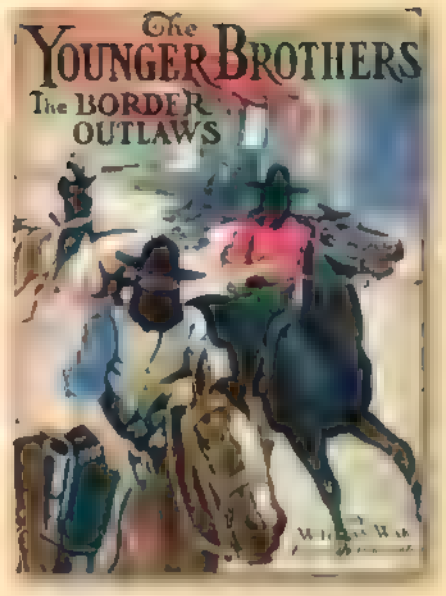
JAMES HARDIN "JIM" YOUNGER
(1848-1902)
ALAMY/AC

ROBERT "BOB" YOUNGER
(1853-1889)
SCIENCE SOURCE/ALBUM

THOMAS COLEMAN "COLE" YOUNGER
(1844-1916)
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS/GETTY IMAGES

A Band of Younger Brothers

THE FOUR YOUNGERS, Cole, Jim, John, and Bob, were the sons of the prosperous Missouri farmer, merchant, and mail contractor Henry Washington Younger. A slave owner who opposed secession, Henry fell victim to both the Kansas jayhawkers, who seized goods from his business, and the Missouri militia who put three bullets in his back in July 1862. At the time of his father's murder, Cole, aged 18, was already riding with Quantrill, where he met Frank James. Jim Younger joined the bushwhackers two years later. After the war, the Youngers, along with the Jameses, would be named in several bank and train robberies. Although the core of the "gang" eventually formed around the two sets of brothers, robbery participants varied with each holdup (for some, the exact identities still remain a guessing game). Cole and Frank never told of their bandit exploits, nor those of their accomplices. Frank denied ever robbing anyone and was never convicted of a crime. Cole claimed that his only criminal act was the one he went to prison for: the bungled robbery of the First National Bank of Northfield, Minnesota, on September 7, 1876. The Youngers, however, did pay for their outlawry. John was killed in a gun battle with Pinkerton operatives in 1874. The remaining brothers were captured and imprisoned along with Cole following the Northfield Raid. Bob died in prison of tuberculosis in 1889. Cole and Jim were paroled in 1901, and Jim committed suicide shortly after. Cole was released from parole in 1903 and returned to Missouri, where he headed a short-lived Wild West show with his old friend Frank James. He outlived Frank by one year, dying in 1916.



WILLIAM WARD'S "PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED" 1908 ACCOUNT OF THE EXPLOITS OF THE YOUNGER BROTHERS
MARK LEE GARDNER COLLECTION

South. Because former guerrillas and their families could not legitimately make that pledge, they were, for a time, left with no voice or place in postwar Missouri.

Not unlike their old leaders Quantrill and Bloody Bill, a few of the disenfranchised chose to make their own rules. On February 13, 1866, 10 to 12 men rode into Liberty, Missouri, and robbed the Clay County Savings Association of $60,000 in gold, currency, and government bonds (largely the savings of Unionists) and shot dead a bystander. The local newspaper reported that the robbers were believed to be "a gang of old bushwhacking desperadoes." Jesse wasn't involved in the holdup, but brother Frank likely was, along with another former guerrilla by the name of Cole Younger.

Why the Jameses and Youngers took up banditry following the Civil War when thousands of their fellow soldiers returned to their homes and pursued peaceful occupations has always been a question. The answer endlessly put forth by Jesse and Frank was that their enemies wouldn't allow them to resume their old lives. "[M]y life was threatened daily," Jesse later told a journalist about his return to the Clay County farm, "and I was forced to go heavily armed." Frank argued, "We had as much chance of settling down, tilling our farms and being decent as a tallow dog chasin' an asbestos cat through hell."

Another answer Jesse and Frank might have given, perhaps one more readily believed, was that robbing banks and trains was easy money, and they were good at it.

Jesse's First Robbery

There are many robberies in which Jesse was named as a participant, but hard evidence of his participation is often as elusive as the outlaw was himself. The first bank job in which Jesse James can positively be identified came three years after the Liberty affair, although the "robbery" may have actually been a planned assassination. On December 7, 1869, two men entered the Daviess County Savings Association in Gallatin, Missouri, killed the cashier for no apparent reason, and then grabbed a small metal box and fled. One of the robbers' horses threw

CRIME SCENE

The Missouri bank of Jesse James's first confirmed crime was a shoe store in 1904, when Gallatin's early residents (above) gathered there for a photograph. Seated third from the left is Samuel P. Cox, whom James mistakenly believed he killed in the robbery.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS/GETTY IMAGES

John Newman Edwards Creates a Legend

FEW MEN IN POSTWAR Missouri had as much popular influence as newspaperman John Newman Edwards (1839-1889). A former Confederate officer and staunch Democrat, Edwards made the James and Younger boys heroes to Missouri's pro-Southern population chafing under the bitterness of defeat. "They are outlaws, but they are not criminals," Edwards wrote. Without naming names, he described the perpetrators of one robbery as "men who risk much, who have friends in high places, and who go riding over the land, taking all the chances that come in the way, spending lavishly tomorrow what is won today at the muzzle of a revolver." Exactly when and how Edwards's relationship with Jesse James began is unknown, but Jesse's first public letter proclaiming his innocence appeared in the *Kansas City Times*, the newspaper where Edwards was an editor. The *Times* published subsequent missives from the outlaw as well, all of which Edwards enhanced to a certain extent, if not penning some outright. His crowning achievement as the James brothers' chief apologist was negotiating Frank James' headline-grabbing surrender six months after Jesse's death. He then served as Frank's PR man while Frank awaited trial for murder for which he was acquitted.

JOHN NEWMAN EDWARDS

MARK LEE GARDNER COLLECTION

its rider, forcing the two to escape on a single mount. During their flight through the country, the robbers boasted to more than one person they met how they had slain Gallatin resident Maj. Samuel P. Cox. Cox was the commander of the militia that had killed Bloody Bill Anderson, and he was targeted so as to avenge their former leader.

Unfortunately for the dead cashier, it was a case of mistaken identity. Instead of Cox, the robbers had killed John W. Sheets. There was no mistake, however, in identifying the fine mare abandoned by the bandits: It was a champion racehorse named Kate, and its owner was one Jesse James.

A grand jury indicted both Jesse and Frank James for the murder of John W. Sheets the following May, prompting Jesse to write to the state's governor to defend his case. In his letter, Jesse denied that he or Frank had anything to do with the holdup, and he assured the governor that he could prove his whereabouts on the day of the robbery by "some of the best men of Missouri." "Governor," he continued, "when I

think I can get a fair trial, I will surrender myself to the civil authorities of Missouri. But I will never surrender myself to be mobbed by a set of bloodthirsty poltroons."

Jesse James, age 22, was now an outlaw. Over the next 12 years there would be more hard riding, more robberies and more innocent victims, more letters denying involvement, and more offers of surrender in return for the guarantee of a fair trial. Jesse, his brother Frank, and their brothers in crime became the most wanted, the most despised, and the most celebrated outlaws in the nation. But on a spring day in 1882, Jesse's run finally came to an end. With the promise of a large reward from Missouri's governor, gang member Charlie Ford fired one momentous shot into the back of the outlaw leader's skull.

But the bullet that killed Jesse James had been fired years before Ford pulled the trigger on his revolver. While still a youth, Jesse's life was dramatically upended by the violence of a horrendous civil war, which in turn had been brought about by the tragedy and violence of slavery. Like his fellow bushwhackers, many of them teenagers as well, Jesse became numb to the bloodshed and fixated on revenge. He killed men, and men tried to kill him. He learned to steal and pillage, justifying his actions with his own skewed moral code. Such are the things that make an outlaw.

Newspaperman and James brothers' defender John Newman Edwards conceded that Jesse and Frank were "bad citizens." But, he explained, "they are bad because they live out of their time." More than 150 years later, Jesse James seems to have escaped time altogether, for the life and deeds of the Baptist minister's son turned outlaw appear to be forever etched in the American consciousness.

CAPITOL CRIME

The deeds of Jesse James and his partners in crime are immortalized in Thomas Hart Benton's 1936 mural cycle "A Social History of the State of Missouri," displayed at the Missouri State Capitol (above).

MARK LEE GARDNER
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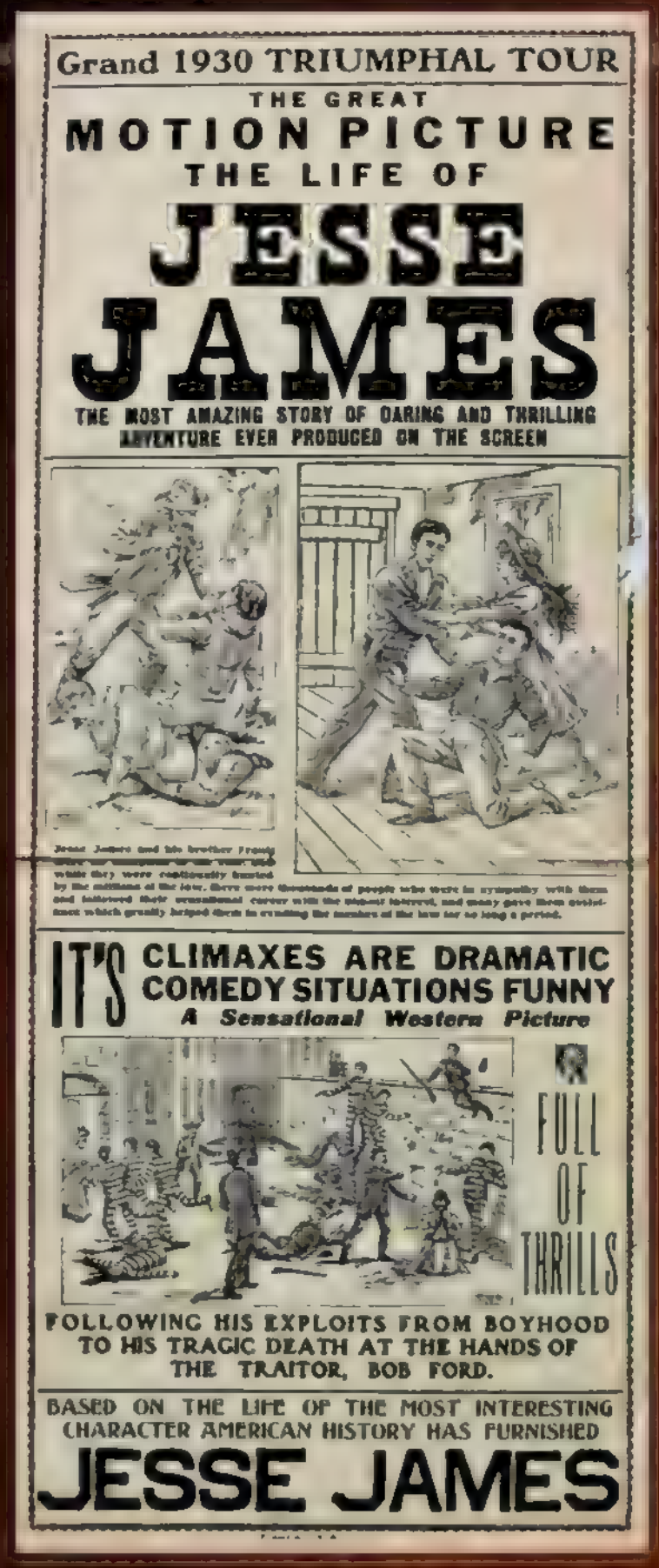
MARK LEE GARDNER, A MISSOURI NATIVE, IS AN AWARD-WINNING AUTHOR AND HISTORIAN LIVING AT THE FOOT OF COLORADO'S PIKES PEAK. HE IS CURRENTLY WRITING A DUAL BIOGRAPHY OF LAKOTA LEADERS CRAZY HORSE AND SITTING BULL.

Learn more

BOOK
Shot All to Hell: Jesse James, the Northfield Raid, and the Wild West's Greatest Escape
Mark Lee Gardner, William Morrow, 2013


Grand 1930 TRIUMPHAL TOUR
THE GREAT
MOTION PICTURE
THE LIFE OF
JESSE
JAMES
THE MOST AMAZING STORY OF DARING AND THRILLING ADVENTURE EVER PRODUCED ON THE SCREEN
IT'S CLIMAXES ARE DRAMATIC COMEDY SITUATIONS FUNNY
A Sensational Western Picture
FULL OF THRILLS
FOLLOWING HIS EXPLOITS FROM BOYHOOD TO HIS TRAGIC DEATH AT THE HANDS OF THE TRAITOR, BOB FORD.
BASED ON THE LIFE OF THE MOST INTERESTING CHARACTER AMERICAN HISTORY HAS FURNISHED
JESSE JAMES

IN FILM. Since the 1908 silent movie *The James Boys in Missouri*, some 50 feature films have centered on Jesse James. Left, the publicity for the 1930 re-release of the 1921 *Jesse James Under the Black Flag*, and below, a poster for a 1939 picture with Tyrone Power in the title role.

THE ROMANCE OF JESSE JAMES

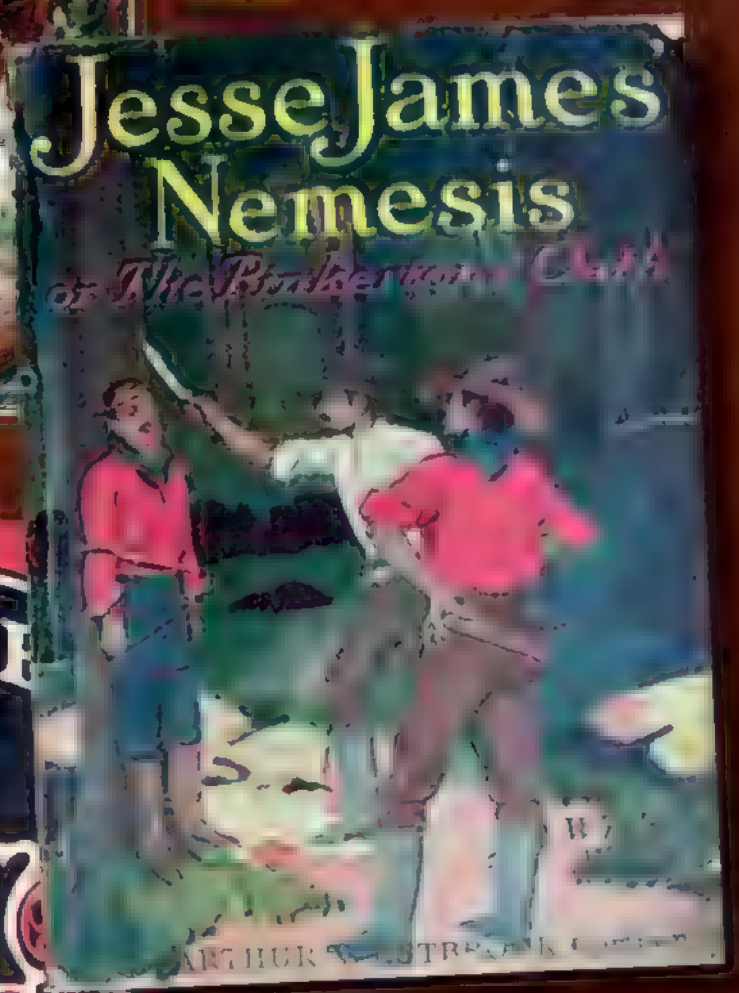
Jesse James was already a legend when he was killed, the subject of countless news articles and several blood and thunder books recounting the purported exploits of the bandit and his gang. Irish playwright Oscar Wilde was in St. Joseph, Missouri, a week after Jesse's death and witnessed firsthand the mad clamor for relics of the outlaw at an auction of Jesse's household belongings, commenting that "Americans are certainly great hero-worshipers, and always take their heroes from the criminal classes."

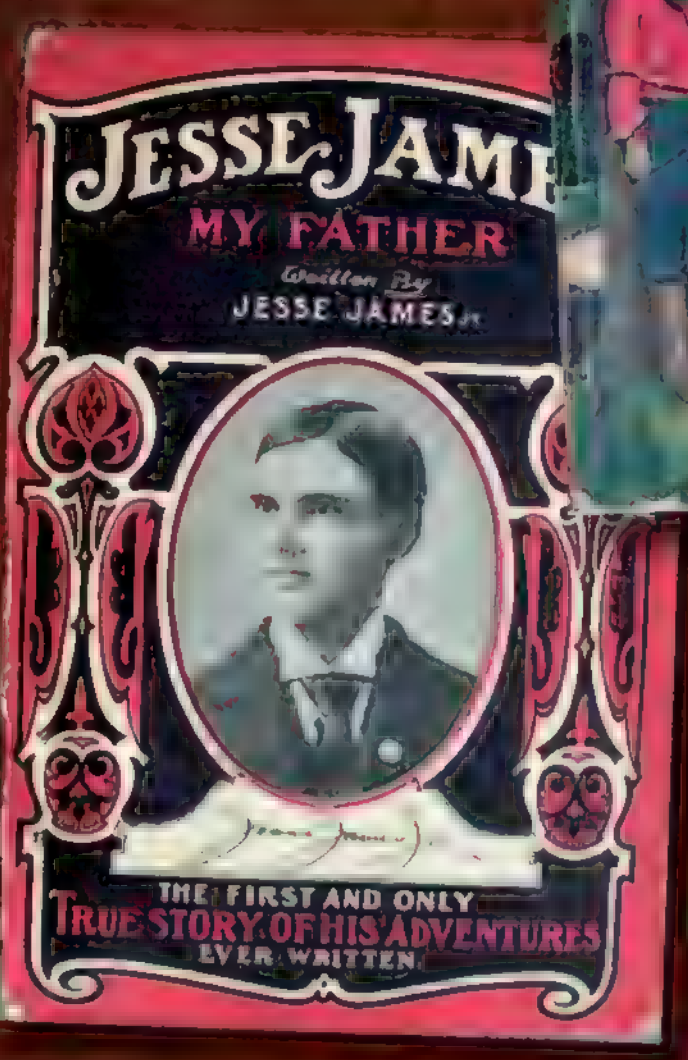
That hero-worshipping climbed to even greater heights in the decades that followed. The mythical Jesse would become America's Robin Hood, stealing from the rich and giving to the poor, overlooking the fact that the real Jesse stole from the rich and gave to himself. He became the hero of dime novels, folk songs, melodramas, and, with the introduction of cinema, silent films, B movies, serials, television shows, and major feature films.

"Jesse James, outlaw though he was, had his ideas of chivalry and kindness, and carried them out in his own way as best he could," reads one dime novel. On the big screen, Jesse battled the mean railroads that were strong-arming good folks into selling their land. As for Jesse's victims, the killings are usually in self-defense or retribution for some heinous act against Jesse's family. And the movies invariably end with Jesse deciding to abandon the life of an outlaw and start anew with his loving wife and children—just before he is gunned down by the villainous Ford brothers. In reality, a nearly broke Jesse had plans to rob a Platte City bank with the Fords when he was assassinated.

PHOTOS: MARK LEE GARDNER COLLECTION, EXCEPT 1939 FILM POSTER: PICTORIAL PRESS/ALAMY/ACI

IN BOOKS. Fascination for Jesse James stoked a publishing boom. Left, a 1903 dime novel recounting yet another hairbreadth escape by "the outlaw king." Below, a 1908 dime novel in which a detective comes to a sticky end. Below left, Jesse's son's account of his father, first published in 1899





IN SONG. Songwriting duo Lewis and Klickman copyrighted their composition about James in 1911 (below), riding the huge popularity of 19th-century broadsides, such as the one at right

Some 50 films have been made featuring the Missouri bandit, and he has been portrayed by some of Hollywood's biggest stars, including Tyrone Power, Roy Rogers, Audie Murphy, James Coburn, Robert Duvall, Kris Kristofferson, Colin Farrell, and Brad Pitt. Little wonder that today the outlaw Jesse James is an iconic figure known around the world.

JESSE JAMES.

If Jesse was your friend,
Oh him you could depend,
If it be true I am sure
He always wore the belt
That would equalize the wealth;
He would rob the rich for the poor.

CHORUS:

Oh Jesse had a wife,
The pride of his life;
His children they were brave,
But the treacherous little coward
That shot Mr. Howard,
And laid Jesse James in his grave.

Jesse James was a man,
A friend to the poor;
Tho' many of you never saw his face.
He was born one day,
In the county of Clay
And came from a good human race.

It was on a Saturday night,
As the moon was shining bright,
He robbed the Broadway bank, so they say.
But it was the Younger Brothers
That opened up the safe
And carried all the money away.

'Twas Jesse and his brother Frank
Who robbed the Chicago bank,
And stopped the Bloomingdale train
And with the agent on his knees
They demanded up the keys
To Frank and Jesse James.

He protected Robert Ford,
The treacherous little coward,
And saved his life, you know:
But the treacherous man did aim
The deadly hand for gain
And slayed his friend Jesse James.

Now, Jesse James you know is gone.
Yet the same work goes on:
And the governor no longer cries,
If Jesse were no more
Then peace he could restore;
So now he offers no prize.

How the people held their breath
When they heard of Jesse's death
And wondered how he ever came to die.

'Twas for the big reward
That little Robert Ford
Shot Jesse James on the sly.

When you go out west
You will then be at rest
And need not be afraid for to die.
'Twas for the big reward
That little Robert Ford
Shot Jesse James on the sly.

How his mother cried and mourned
And the treacherous scoundrel scorn'd
When she heard how he came to die.
She prayed to God to save
His children true and brave,
Jesse James the bandit king.

Rock Solid: The Churches of Lalibela

Eleven chiseled churches hewed from the rocks of Lalibela turned this mountain town in northern Ethiopia into an inspirational site of faith and awe, attracting devoted pilgrims and curious scholars to its sacred halls for centuries.

From far away, the Lalibela church complex is invisible, blending into the highlands of northern Ethiopia. To see the impressive medieval churches carved from igneous rock centuries ago, visitors must move in closer and venture high into the hills.

Moving Mountains

Christian roots in Ethiopia run deep, extending as far back as the fourth century A.D. Two missionaries, Sts. Frumentius and Aedesius, are credited with bringing Christianity to Ethiopia. They converted a king of the powerful Aksumite empire. The young faith took hold, and houses of worship were built including St. Mary of Zion, first built in the fourth century and rebuilt several times since then. Today it is one of the world's oldest churches.

The Aksum dynasty ruled a powerful kingdom from the first to the eighth century. Commerce increased their power and the ability to spread their faith north to Egypt and east to Yemen. Archaeologists have found Aksumite coins bearing crosses, making them the first to put the Christian symbol on their currency.

In the seventh and eighth centuries the Aksumite state went into decline after Persia conquered south Arabia, disrupting trade routes through the Red Sea and cutting off the region's access to the Mediterranean. Only in the 12th century did the fortunes of Ethiopia revive under new rulers, the Zagwe. Their capital city was founded in the center of the country, surrounded by a protective ring of mountains.

In 1185 Gebre Mesqel Lalibela began his rule as the new Zagwe king. Lalibela is credited with building the 11 remarkable monolithic churches in the mountains. Ethiopian chroniclers say Lalibela had visited Jerusalem shortly before its fall to Saladin's Muslim forces in 1187. When the Holy Land became inaccessible, the Ethiopian king would create a new one for his own people to visit as pilgrims. His capital city (later named for him) would be a New Jerusalem.

THE HOUSE OF St. George, Lalibela, was hewed from the surrounding rock in the early 13th century. It is one of the site's more recently built structures.

TONI ESPADAS

16TH-CENTURY PROCESSIONAL CROSS FROM ETHIOPIA. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK MET/SCALA, FLORENCE

4th cent. A.D.
Two missionaries travel to Ethiopia and convert the king of the powerful **Aksum dynasty** to Christianity.

1185
The Zagwe king **Lalibela** begins his rule. He is credited with building the 11 rock-cut churches in his capital city.

1500s
Portuguese envoys search for a legendary Christian kingdom in Africa and are awestruck by Lalibela's monolithic churches

1978
Lalibela becomes a **UNESCO** World Heritage site. The churches are an important place of pilgrimage for Ethiopian Orthodox Christians.

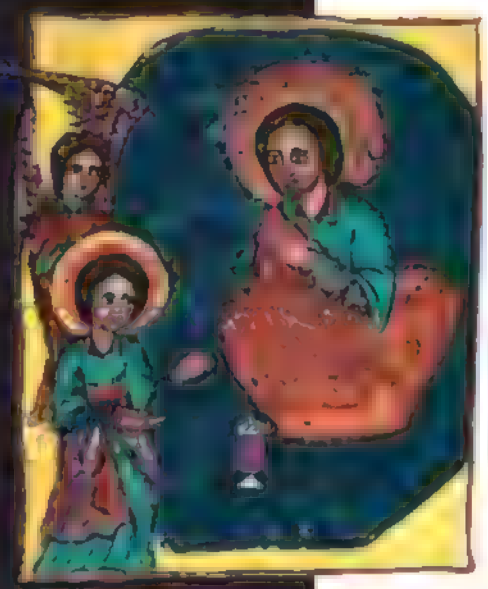
Ethiopian tradition credits King Lalibela with building all 11 structures, but it is more likely that he expanded and adorned an existing complex. Archaeologists have found that the site was not built all at once. Several of the structures predate Lalibela's rule. They may have originally been forts or civic buildings carved as early as the seventh century. The newer ones, such as the massive Biete Giyorgis (House of St. George), date from Lalibela's reign.

Two kinds of volcanic basalt make up the churches. Unlike most structures, which are built from the ground up, the rock-hewn churches were carved from the top down. Workers most likely used chisels and other bladed tools to sculpt each building.

(Continued on page 94)

DIVINE INSTRUCTIONS

LEGEND SAYS THAT the greatness of the future king of Ethiopia was evident from the beginning: A swarm of bees surrounded the infant prince, but he emerged unharmed. He was named Lalibela, which means "the bees recognize his sovereignty." Lalibela's older brother ordered that his sibling (and rival) be poisoned. Lalibela fell into a deathlike sleep and had a vision. He saw extraordinary buildings and heard the voice of God who instructed him to build them in the capital.



GOD RECEIVES PRINCE LALIBELA, IN A 19TH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT.

LEBRECHT/AURIMAGES

Biete Amanuel / House of Emmanuel
Biete Giyorgis / House of St. George (see photo on p. 91)
Biete Maryam / House of Mary
Biete Medhane Alem / House of the Savior of the World
YORDANOS R. / JORDAN R.
N

ILLUSTRATION 3D: RISE STUDIO

Lalibela's Rock and Salvation

THE YORDANOS RIVER winds through the massif where the rock-cut churches stand, strengthening the connection to the Holy Land intended by King Lalibela. The church complex is organized in two main concentrations: The first centers around the Biete Medhane Alem (House of the Savior of the World) and the Biete Maryam (House of Mary); and the second around the Biete Amanuel (House of Emmanuel). The Biete Giyorgis (House of St. George) is located by itself a short distance away; its distinctive cruciform structure makes it easy to spot from above. The complex is linked together by a series of tunnels and trenches whose walls have been excavated over the centuries. These niches may have served as cells for monks, as well as tombs where deceased priests were laid to rest. The interior of the churches are noted for rounded arches, some covered with ornate geometric patterns. Some of the best preserved examples with bold, vivid colors are found inside the Biete Maryam (right), which also features paintings of biblical scenes. On the outside of Bet Maryam is a frieze of horsemen, interpreted by some to depict King Lalibela.

GEOMETRIC DESIGNS ON ROUNDED ARCHES OF BIETE MARYAM (HOUSE OF MARY), LALIBELA

DANITA DELIMONT/ALAMY/ACI

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BIETE MEDHANE ALEM (House of the Savior of the World), Lalibela, is believed to be the largest rock-cut church in the world.

DAVE STAMBOULIS/ALAMY/AC

According to Ethiopian tradition, the churches took only 24 years to complete, as stonecutters worked by day and angels worked by night. The buildings fall into two main groups, one on each side of the Yordanos (Jordan) River. Each is connected by underground passages.

The floor plans of the churches are either basilic or cruciform. The builders used the geology to shape their work, allowing the roofs to have the same slope as the surrounding mountains to prevent flooding. Geology also influenced the placement of doors; Orthodox custom advocates placing a door at the western, northern, and southern sides, but in some cases, the terrain made that impossible, and plans had to be adjusted.

Rock of Ages

Centuries after its construction, Europeans who came to Lalibela were overcome with awe. In the late 15th century Portuguese explorers were investigating medieval tales of a Christian land that existed beyond the Muslim world while searching for a passage to India.

The Portuguese delegation of diplomats were astounded by what they found in Ethiopia. One of them, Francisco Álvares, gave an eyewitness account in 1520. He breathlessly described Lalibela's churches, "the like of which . . . cannot, as it appears to me, be found in the world."

Soon after the publication of Álvares's account, Ethiopia came under Muslim attack. In the 1540s the Portuguese Cristóvão da Gama led a force of 400 men into Africa to protect it. Da Gama's army was accompanied by a chronicler, Miguel de Castanhoso, who also remarked with astonishment on the rock-cut churches. Da Gama was captured and killed in 1542. Despite his death, the displaced Ethiopian Christian rulers managed, in the end, to take back their lands.

Today, the 11 rock churches continue to inspire awe with their beauty and marvelous engineering. Lalibela is home to a large Ethiopian Orthodox Christian community, who have been a continuous presence since the complex's creation many centuries ago.

In 1978 the church complex was recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage site. The rock-hewn churches attract as many as 80,000 to 100,000 annual visitors, including both pilgrims who wish to worship and tourists who wish to behold one of the world's greatest wonders.

—Irene Cordón

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THE THOLOS (CIRCULAR TEMPLE) OF DELPHI WAS BUILT IN THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

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THE CITY AT THE CENTER OF THE WORLD

PERCHED ON the slopes of Mount Parnassus in central Greece, Delphi was determined by the god Zeus to be the center of the world—the *omphalos*, or navel. Delphi was first settled in the Bronze Age and grew to great significance in ancient Greece as home to the oracle of Apollo, the Pythian Games, and splendid architecture. After successive pillaging over the centuries, Delphi all but disappeared until excavations in the 19th century revealed the glory of the ancient site.

A TALE OF TWO EMPIRES: THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

WHEN THE DRUMBEATS OF WAR began to sound between the United States and Spain in 1898, American newspapers quickened the tempo. During a heated circulation battle between publishing titans William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer, the *New York Journal* and the *World* churned out story after story about Cuba, then an outpost of the Spanish Empire. After the U.S.S. *Maine* sank in Havana Harbor, the imperial ambitions of the United States rose as yellow journalism pushed the two nations toward war.

ORONOZ/ALBUM

Life in a Stone Age City

Çatalhöyük, an archaeological site in modern Turkey, was one of humanity's earliest urban centers, built about 9,000 years ago when people first began living in honeycombs of houses.

Egypt's First Christians

In the early years of the Roman Empire, Mark the Apostle founded a church in Alexandria that would combine a new faith's teachings with the rich culture of ancient Egypt.

Copernicus's Scientific Revolution

In 1508 Polish astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus had an idea, one that he would finesse for more than 30 years before publishing a theory that would reinvent the heavens.

The Composer and the Emperor

In early 1804 Ludwig van Beethoven was one of Napoleon Bonaparte's biggest fans, but after the French consul turned tyrant, the composer changed his tune.

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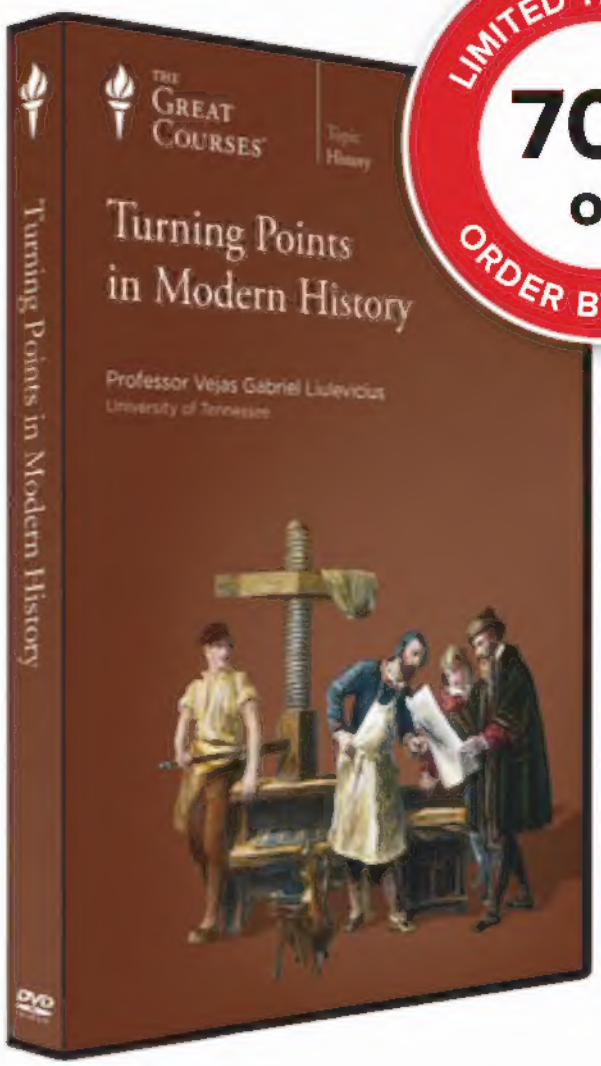

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